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ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER VIJAYANAGAR

(SECOND EDITION)

PART I—ADMINISTRATION

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by

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Krishnadeva Raya

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The history of the Vijayanagar Empire occupies a period of well over three centuries (1336-1650 A.D.). It marks the culmination of the achievements, political and cultural, of the people of South India in days when they had not fallen under foreign domination. And the Empire at its greatest extent covered practically the whole of the modern Presidency of Madras, the Indian States in the area included, and extended for a time to Ceylon and parts of Burma. The outline of the history of this 'Forgotten Empire' was first presented by Robert Sewell in a celebrated book published in 1900.

Since then there has been a steady accession of much new material owing to the activities of the Archaeological departments in Madras, Mysore and Travancore, the publications of numerous works of literature and travel in various languages, the editing **in extenso** or calendaring of public records from the archives of different governments and the fresh study and interpretation of old collections of materials like the Mackenzie Manuscripts.

The study of Vijayanagar has necessarily occupied a considerable place in the work of the University department of Indian History and Archaeology since its inception in 1914. Its first Professor, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, inaugurated the University Historical Series with a scholarly edition of some of the Sources of Vijayanagar History and made many striking contributions to the subject which are well known to all students. The expansion of the department in 1928 by the addition of a Reader and a Lecturer has made it possible to plan the work of the department on Vijayanagar History on a more extended scale. The present Reader, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya was already a specialist in Vijayanagar History when he joined the department in 1931, and very soon after, he published two books with the titles:

(1) Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and the Empire.

(2) Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara.

The present work of Mr. Mahalingam is calculated to supplement from the Tamil side the social and administrative studies begun in **The Third Dynasty**, and I venture to express the hope that the book by the choice of its theme and the competence of its treatment will be found to fulfil this purpose.

Further work on the subject is being done, and a very considerable collection of "Further Sources of Vijayanagar History" is already in the Press.

University of Madras,
30-8-1940

K. A. N.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The book **Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar** was originally published in 1940 by the University of Madras. The companion volume to this book, **Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire** was also published by the University in 1952. Both of them have been out of print for a number of years, but there is a growing demand for them from many Universities and scholars. Therefore Dr. A. L. Basham, formerly Professor of South Asian History in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and now Professor of South Asian Studies in the Australian National University, Canberra, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University suggesting that in view of the value of the publication a second edition of these two volumes in an integrated form may be brought out. Therefore I revised both the books for the second edition. The present work which forms part I of the revised edition of the two volumes deals with Administration in the Vijayanagar Empire and the Second Part which is now in the Press deals with Social Life in the Vijayanagar Empire including Economic Conditions. I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University for issuing this part. The second part will be published soon.

Sri B. Sitaraman, M. A., formerly Research Assistant in the Department prepared the Index for the book for which I am under obligation to him.

T. V. Mahalingam.

Department of Ancient History,
and Archaeology,
University of Madras,
3-1-1969

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The following pages embody the results of the work that I did as a Research Student in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology of the Madras University between 1931 and 1934.

A systematic study of the administrative institutions and social conditions in the Vijayanagar Empire has been rendered possible by the valuable work carried on by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Archaeological Departments of Mysore, Travancore and Pudukkottai. A good part of the present work is based on the material gathered and published by them. I am also much indebted to the several scholars who have worked in the field of South Indian History and by their valuable publications made distinct contributions to the history of Vijayanagar as almost every page of this book will show.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri under whom I worked in the Department gave me immense help and advice in the gathering of materials for and the writing of the book. Besides, while revising the manuscript and going through proofs as Editor, he offered me many valuable suggestions for all of which I am very much beholden to him. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, revised the manuscript and helped me with useful criticisms for which I am extremely grateful to him. My thanks are also due to Dr V. Raghavan of the Sanskrit Department who went through a part of manuscript and offered me some helpful suggestions.

I am under obligation to the Archaeological Survey of India for giving me permission to publish seven select photographs of which it owns the copyright.

I am grateful to the Syndicate of the Madras University for sanctioning the publication of the work in the University Historical Series.

Finally it is with great pleasure that I acknowledge my obligations to the G. S. Press for the excellent manner in which they have carried out the printing of the book.

T. V. M.

ABBREVIATIONS

Āmukta	*Āmuktamālyada.*
A. S. R.	*Archaeological Survey Report,* Madras.
C. I. I.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
E. C.	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
E. I.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
I. A. or *Ind. Ant.*	*Indian Antiquary.*
I. M. P.	*A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.*
I. P S.	*Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State* (Texts).
J. B. B. R. A. S,	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J. I. H.	*Journal of Indian History.*
M. A. R.	*Mysore Archaeological Report.*
M. E. R.	*Madras Epigraphical Report.*
Nel. Ins.	*A Collection of Inscriptions on Copper Plates and Stone in the Nellore District.*
Q. J. A. H. R. S.	*Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.*
Q. J. M. S.	*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.*
S. I. I.	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
T. A. S.	*Tranvancore Archaeological Series.*
T. T. D. I.	*Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.*

CHAPTER I

Introductory

The true history of a country does not consist in the "endless procession of kingdoms and despots", the court intrigues, the interminable wars waged by the kings and the suppression of rebellions, but in the life of the people in its different aspects. A study of the administrative institutions of an empire, the daily activities of the people, their religious and economic progress is at least as important as its political history. To lay stress on the importance of the social and economic progress of a country does not mean, however, that it may be studied at the expense of its political history. A study of political history is important, for, as Vincent Smith remarks, "the more attractive story of the development of Indian thought as expressed in religion and philosophy, literature, art and science cannot be written intelligibly unless it is built on the solid foundation of dynastic history which alone can furnish the indispensable chronological basis."[1]

In one sense the history of the world is the history of empires. The world has witnessed the rise, growth and decay of many empires. They have been reared by great conquerors and statesmen, but soon after the removal of their strong arms there appear signs of decay in the empires and after lingering for a few more years they finally disappear. Such have been the Egyptian, Babylonian, and the Assyrian empires. Coming nearer home, India was the home of the empires of the Nandas, Mauryas, the Guptas and Cōḷas, and of Vijayanagar. Endowed with but a relatively short lease of life, each of these has left valuable traces of its existence, which keep it green in our memory to-day.

The pyramids which recall to our minds the Egyptian empire and its glory are not only the result of forced labour and prodigal expenditure but also, according to some, a standing monument of misdirected energy. The Cōḷa Empire has left behind it huge temples with their exquisitely carved sculptures. Great Tamil literary celebrities flourished under the Cōḷa kings and many of their works

1. *Oxford History of India*, (Third Edition), p. 9.

have come down to us. Likewise the Vijayanagar Empire too has left permanent traces of its glory. There is no field of national life which Vijayanagar has not influenced. In the fields of politics, religion, literature, arts, and economic activity the Vijayanagar Empire contributed much of permanent value.

The Empire itself was founded by a band of five brothers in the second quarter of the fourteenth century to check the onrush of aggressive Islam into South India. The invasions of Muhammad bin Tughlak and the subsequent Muslim threats to the Hindus of South India led to much unrest and the rise of a feeling of political unity among them ultimately resulting in the birth of the Vijayanagar Empire,[2] which came to symbolise Hindu resistance to the onslaughts of Islam.

Harihara (1336-56) Kampa, Bukka, Mārappa and Muddappa, the founders of the Empire, expanded it on all sides, and each ruled over a portion of it. Kumāra Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka, extended the Empire in the south as far as Madura, putting an end to the Sultanate of Madura. During the reign of Bukka I (1356-77) the Bahmani kingdom was founded in A.D. 1347 by Hasan Gangu, just north of the river Kṛṣṇā. Since then both the Muslim Sultans of the north and the Rāyas of the south waged

2. About the origin of the city and the Empire of Vijayanagar there has been a good deal of controversy among scholars. There are two schools of opinion on the question, one holding that the Empire was of Karnāṭaka origin and the other holding that it was of Telingāna origin. See for the former view, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 23; Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VI, *Intro.*, p. 21; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 171 and 181-83; H. Krishna Sastri, *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 236; 1909-10, p. 160; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, p. 84; R. Satyanathier, *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 3-4; Rev. H. Heras, *The Beginnings of Vijayanagara*, pp. 1-43; B. A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 82-112; S. Srikantayya, *Founders of Vijayanagara*, p. 3. *Contra*: N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, pp. 21-33; *Vijayanagara: The Origin of the City and the Empire*, pp. 3-52; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, pp. 1-53; *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 271-75 and 321-23; M. Somasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, pp. 25-26; J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, pp. 167-70. While all other scholars are agreed on the point that the Empire was founded about the year 1336 Saletore argues that it was founded only ten years later, in 1346: *op. cit.*, pp. 82-112.

war after war. Bukka was succeeded by Harihara II, who ruled till A.D. 1404. On his death there was a dispute over the succession to the throne among his three sons Virūpākṣa I, Bukka II and Dēva Rāya I, but ultimately the last prince ascended the throne in A.D. 1406 and occupied it till his death in 1422. The next ruler was Dēva Rāya's son Rāmacandra who seems to have occupied the throne for six months[3] after which it passed on to Vijaya Rāya, whose reign appears to have lasted upto A.D. 1430. Since he was a weak ruler, his son Dēva Rāya II was associated with the administration from 1422 itself. He was the most distinguished member of the dynasty and ruled till A.D. 1446. He suffered heavy losses in men and money on account of reverses at the hands of the Bahmani Sultans, who massacred Hindu women and children without mercy and took delight in shedding Hindu blood. Dēva Rāya II who realised the inferiority of the Hindu forces and was impressed with the superiority of the Muslim cavalry, introduced reforms in the organization of his army. His reign is also important for the literary celebrities who lived in his court, and the foreign traveller 'Abdur Razzāk, a Persian, who visited his court. Dēva Rāya II was followed successively by Vijaya Rāya II (1446-47) Mallikārjuna (1446-65) and Virūpākṣa II (1465-85) who were comparatively weak rulers.

The weak rule of the last two kings facilitated the rise into prominence of Sāḷuva Narasimha, who finally usurped the throne in A.D. 1485 and had himself crowned king. He was an able ruler, and set himself to the restoration of the strength and prestige of the Empire and the reorganisation of its administration and succeeded in his arduous task. On his death in 1490, he was followed by Timma (1490-91) and Immaḍi Narasimha (1491-1505) who had as their ministers successively Narasā Nāyaka and Vīra Narasimha. The latter usurped the throne in A.D. 1505, and after a short reign he bequeathed it in A.D. 1509 to his step-brother Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, (1509-29), the greatest and the most distinguished of the Vijayanagar kings.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya began his reign with a determination to retrieve the losses in the territories of his kingdom, and pursued his object with success. He put down the rebellious feudatories within his own Empire and defeated and conquered Pratāparudra

3. See *M.E.R.*, 317 of 1931-32; *Rep.*; para 35.
4. *M.E.R.*, 1906-07, para 55.

Gajapati, the ruler of Orissa. He conquered the Bijāpūr Sultan and humbled his pride. His Empire extended from the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. He was an enlightened ruler, and during his time the administration of the Empire was systematised and perfected. He was a cultured king, and a number of scholars adorned his court and he was himself the author of works in Telugu and Sanskrit. Like many Hindu rulers he was tolerant towards all religious sects, though he was himself a staunch Vaiṣṇava. It was during his time that the Portuguese established their power in certain parts of South-western India.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was succeeded on the throne by his step-brother Acyuta Rāya (1529-42), who in spite of his numerous difficulties ruled over the Empire with considerable success. His son Venkaṭa, who succeeded him, lost his life in a palace revolution after a brief rule for a few months. Salakarāju Tirumala who seized the throne was slain by Rāmarāja, a son-in-law of Kṛṣṇa-dēva Rāya and a good administrator. As a result of this Acyuta's nephew Sadāśiva ascended the throne. He was a weak king and the one dominating personality who swayed the destinies of the Empire during his time was Rāmarāja. He set his Muslim neighbours one against another and crippled their power to a great extent. But they soon realised the folly of their disunion, formed a grand alliance among themselves, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hindus of the south led by Rāmarāja and his brothers at the historic battle of Rakṣas Tangdi in A.D. 1565. Rāmarāja himself died in the battle. The city of Vijayanagar was partly destroyed by the Muslims. The Empire also passed through the effects of a rude shock. But soon order was restored in South India and the Hindu Empire regained much of its position and power.

Though Sadāśiva was still alive, Tirumala proclaimed himself Emperor and ascended the throne in A.D. 1570 and ruled till A.D. 1572. He was the first ruler of the Āravīḍu line of kings. He was succeeded in order by his sons, Śrī Ranga I (1572-85) and Venkaṭa II (1585-1614), the greatest ruler of the Āravīḍu line. He was a liberal patron of letters. He changed his capital to Candragiri and ruled the Empire from that place. During his time the Portuguese gained great influence not only in his court, but also in many parts of South India.

The Empire after his death passed into the hands of Śrī Ranga II (1614), Rāmadēva (1614-30), Peda Venkaṭa III (1630-42)

and Śrī Ranga III (1642-72)). The last ruler, though himself efficient and capable of ruling a vast empire, could not succeed in his work, for the prevailing political conditions in South India did not favour his object of unifying the Empire and reviving the glories of Vijayanagar. His reign is a record of disloyalty and treachery on the part of his feudatories as well as internecine warfare within his Empire. The Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore, and the Oḍeyārs of Mysore became too powerful for him. The intervention of the Bijāpūr and Golkonda Sultans in South Indian affairs made his task all the more difficult. After him the Empire dwindled in size and lost its importance and influence; and it was finally destroyed by Tippu Sultan who set fire to Anegondi itself in 1786.

It is generally said that in medieval Europe feudalism was a necessity of the times. Similarly the particular form of government that obtained in Vijayanagar was a necessity of the period. The very fact that in the Vijayanagar Empire there existed, side by side with one another, various heterogeneous elements, diverse interests and communities, necessitated a strong monarchical form of government. The king stood out as the symbol of unity in the Empire. He was not an absolute, autocratic ruler, for his powers were limited by certain customs and conventions. The taxation system also was generally governed by custom. The king depended largely on feudal levies in times of war, and recruitment to the army was made by various methods. The administration of justice was organised in such a way as to suit the convenience of the people. Disputes were decided in a majority of cases by arbitration, or cases were generally tried locally by the local people. The provincial administration too satisfied the requirements of the age. In many cases the officers of government were remunerated by assignments on the income due to the government. In the local areas, the old rural assemblies functioned actively and rendered very useful service to the local people at least till about the sixteenth century. The temple was a centre of religious, cultural and economic activity in the local areas, and the guilds were other local bodies that played a prominent part in the political, religious and economic life in the Empire. Thus these varied aspects of life in the Vijayanagar Empire deserve careful study.

The fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries constituted a period of great religious unrest in South India owing to the

Muslim invasions. The Vijayanagar Empire which was founded to protect Hindu civilization not only stood as a bulwark against Muslim aggressions but also encouraged the growth of religious activity. The renaissance movement in the field of religion and philosophy produced great philosophers and polemics like Vidyāraṇya, Akṣobhya Muni, Vedānta Dēśika, Vyāsarāya Tīrtha, Appayya Dīkṣita and Tātācārya to mention only a few. The period saw the growth of certain popular religious movements like Tengalai Vaiṣṇavism. The Vijayanagar period was one of regeneration of religion, of gods, of learning and the sacred places of Hindu pilgrimage. Though these religious movements split the Hindu society into many camps in polemical matters they did the signal service of rallying them together against the inroads of Islam.

The spread of the power of Vijayanagar over the whole of South India caused the migration of people from one part of the peninsula to another. The patronage which the Rāyas extended to learned men and religious teachers, especially the Vaiṣṇavas, attracted a large number of Brahmans from the south, who settled down permanently in the Telugu and Kannaḍa districts. Thither also came a good number of others who entered the civil service of the government, besides merchants, particularly the Beris, who flocked to villages and towns for purposes of trade. Similarly, there was an influx of the Telugu and Kannaḍa people into the Tamil districts. The Rāyas bestowed estates on their dependants, who settled down all over the Tamil country with their followers. The natural consequence of this intermigration was the settlement of certain castes into a new environment. Thus, the Balijas, Kammas, Reḍḍis and various sects of the Telugu speaking Brahmans who were alien elements in the social structure of the Tamil country found their way into it, and got themselves acclimatised to their new environment in course of time. In the same manner, the Piḷḷais, the Mudaliārs, the Arava Vēḷamas, and some sects of the Tamil-speaking Brahmans left their native land and made the northern districts of the Empire their permanent abode.

Literature received the fostering care of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar. The kings extended their patronage particularly to Sanskrit and Telugu literature. According to tradition the Empire itself was founded under the auspices of the great sage and scholar, Vidyāraṇya. Sāyaṇa, who lived in the time of Harihara I, Bukka I,

and Harihara II, earned undying celebrity as the commentator of the Vedas. The court of almost every Vijayanagar king was adorned by a number of scholars. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was, as noted earlier, himself a great scholar and author of Telugu and Sanskrit works. In his court flourished great and notable scholars and poets like Allasāni Peddana, Nandi (Mukku) Timmana and others. Kannaḍa and Tamil literature also flourished in that age.

The contribution of Vijayanagar to art and architecture was considerable. The kings were great builders. During their time were constructed many strategical fortresses, big palaces, spacious temples with huge towers rising into the sky, remarkable not only for the massiveness of their size but also for the details of decoration, sculpture and painting. Most of the secular buildings are now gone; and only the religious buildings remain. Many of these works are perfect specimens of art. The most striking of the monuments are the romantic ruins of Hampi now "an open air museum of Hindu monuments", which recall to one's mind the glories of what was once a great and flourishing city. There are also many other monuments which stand to this day, in different degrees of dilapidation, to remind one of the wealth and prosperity of Vijayanagar. A few of them are the forts of Penugoṇḍa, Candragiri, Vellore and Jiñji, the thousand and hundred-pillared *maṇṭapas* at Kāḷahasti, Kāñcīpuram and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the towers at Kāñcīpuram, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Cidambaram Śrīrangam and Madura and the huge palaces and halls at the last mentioned place. The accounts of contemporary travellers lie 'Abdur Razzāk and Paes which describe the sculptures and paintings at the imperial court of Vijayanagar clearly show that the two allied arts had attained a high degree of perfection under the Rāyas.

Unlike the earlier invaders of India like the Greeks, Bactrians, Śakas and Huns who mingled freely with the indigenous population and became absorbed into them, the Muslims preferred to remain a distinct community, and tried to preserve their purity and individuality; but they have influenced Hindu society and institutions, and similarly have been influenced by Hindu ones. The introduction of the arch and the construction of *maṇṭapas* with barrel-shaped roofs, instead of the flat terrace, which was a distinct characteristic of the Dravidian style of architecture, was due largely to the influence of the Muslim school of art and architecture. Dēva Rāya II copied the example of the Muslims for the improvement of the organisation of his army.

Thus the administrative and social history of Vijayanagar is of great interest. South India has not, however, been Islamised to the extent to which parts of North India have been, and it continues to preserve the old form of Hinduism intact without allowing alien influences to act on it to any very large extent. This preservation of Hindu religion, literature and art, which are peculiar to South India and "differ widely from the more familiar forms of the north", has been due to the Vijayanagar Empire. As a result of the constant menace of Muslim invasions, Hindu society had to be reorganised and a certain amount of hardening and defining of the rights and duties of the various castes and communities of the Hindu society was felt necessary. As S. K. Aiyangar truly observes, "it may safely be said that for good and for evil the present day Hinduism of South India retains the form that it received under Vijayanagar which ought to be given the credit of having preserved Hinduism such as it is".[5]

5. *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 312.

Chapter II

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Section I

The King

The working of a monarchical form of government depends largely on the personality of the sovereign. Mighty empires have risen under strong kings and fallen under weak ones. In India, for instance, Candragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka built the Maurya Empire, but with the succession of weak kings began the era of its decadence. The Gupta Empire was reared by kings like Samudragupta and Candragupta II, but later crumbled under a succession of weak rulers. The Vijayanagar Empire was no exception to this. It was founded and strengthened by the enthusiastic brothers Harihara and Bukka. The Empire grew in due course and its administration was stabilised successively by Dēva Rāya II, Sāḷuva Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. In the Vijayanagar Empire, as in others governed under a monarchical constitution, the king was the head of the administration and occupied a supreme position in the State. In fact, the king was the pivot of the machinery of administration.

According to ancient Hindu political thinkers the State consisted of seven elements of which the king was the most important.[1] The well-being of the State depended largely on the harmonious working of these elements and on their joint effort for the common weal. We have the evidence of the *Āmuktamālyada* of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to show that the king was the most important of the seven members of the body politic. The royal poet emphasises the fact that the Emperor (*Sārvabhauma*) should be able to enforce his commands.[2] This receives corroboration from the

1. The seven elements of the State are: (1) *Svāmin* (Lord), (2) *Amātya* (minister), (3) *Janapada* (Territory), (4) *Durga* (fort), (5) *Kośa* (treasury), (6) *Daṇḍa* (army) and (7) *Mitra* (ally). See, for instance, *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 220, v. 19.

2. *Āmuktamālyada*, canto 4, v. 206, tr. in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, by the late A. Rangasvami Sarasvati of the Madras Epigraphy Department.

Navaratnamulu and the *Saptāngapaddhati*, a series of verses addressed to Sāḷuva Narasimha. These works are now available only in fragments; but even a superficial study of them leaves on one the impression that the king was the most important figure in the Vijayanagar State.[3]

Coronation: In all Hindu kingdoms the coronation was an important ceremony. It provided the legal sanction for the selection of a ruler and conferred on him the title to govern. The Vijayanagar kings, like the ancient Hindu kings, had their coronation duly performed. The accounts of contemporary foreign travellers make references to coronation, and they receive confirmation from several inscriptions.

A special court (Durbar) was held to celebrate the coronation which was attended by the ministers, officials, subordinate kings and the leaders of different communities. For instance, as the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu* of Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi says, the coronation of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was attended by various feudatory chiefs of whom the following were important: Āravīṭi Bukka Rāju, the chiefs of Owk, the chiefs of Nandēla and Vēlgōḍu, besides others.[4]

The details of the ceremony are interesting, and were apparently based on ancient prescriptions. The Brahman *Purohita* placed a fillet of gold on the forehead of the king, and after due prayers and the chanting of the relevant *mantras* poured the *abhiṣecana* water on the king. It is said, for instance, that the coronation of Venkaṭa II was performed by Tātayārya, the king's *guru* and by other Brahmans.[5] When the coronation was celebrated at a holy place like Tirupati, it was performed with the king being bathed 'in the water poured out of the conch of God' as was done in the case of Acyuta Rāya, when he was first crowned at Tirupati.[6]

The ministers appear to have had a voice in the selection of the king, and as such they took an important part in his anointment. Sāḷuva Timma who had a partiality for Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya played the role of chief minister and crowned him king on the

3. See Prabhakara Sastri, *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari*, pp. 34-41.
4. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 129.
5. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 83.
6. *Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions Report*, Vol. I, p. 220. Rajanātha Diṇḍima, *Acyutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto III, v. 23.

death of Vīra Narasimha. A lithic record from the Nāgamangalam taluk in the Mysore district gives the interesting information that Sadāśiva Mahārāya was anointed king by Rāmarāja, the Prime Minister, and the other chief ministers (*amātya tilakaiḥ*).[7]

The coronation had important constitutional significance. The assumption of royalty implied recognition by the king of his responsibility. Herein is a close similarity between the idea of ancient Hindu kingship and medieval monarchy. In the Vedic period the king took an oath that his rule would be just and according to the rules of *Dharma*. Similarly the kings of Vijayanagar took the oath in the same spirit. The occasion was one of mirth and joy and the kings then made large grants to temples and Brahmans.

The Yuvarāja

In ancient India the reigning sovereigns generally nominated their heirs-apparent and bequeathed the empire to them. The eldest prince was usually chosen successor, and failing him the choice fell upon some other member of the royal family worthy of the distinction and responsibility. In the Vijayanagar Empire also the kings appointed their successors and anointed them *Yuvarājas* during their own life-time. A copperplate grant of Harihara II states that Harihara I appointed his brother Bukka Rāja *Yuvarāja*.[8]

Speaking about Dēva Rāya I Wilson writes: "His grants begin three years before those of the predecessor's terminate. This circumstance recurs in the succeeding reign, making it probable that the practice prevailed which was common in the remote periods of Hindu history of a monarch's associating with him towards the close of his reign, his son and successor as Yuvaraja or Caesar".[9] Literary evidence also corroborates the prevalence of this system. The *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* of Rājanātha Diṇḍima says that with the coronation of Acyuta as Emperor, Pina Venkaṭādri, the king's son, was anointed the Crown Prince.[10]

Generally the *Yuvarājapaṭṭābhiṣekam* was celebrated when the Crown Prince had gained all theoretical knowledge of administration. But in certain circumstances the Crown Prince was

7. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 58.
8. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 256.
9. *Asiatic Researches*, xx, pp. 8-9.
10. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

anointed *Yuvarāja* though he happened to be very young. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the reigning kings feared that succession to the throne would be disputed after their death. It was so when Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, for instance, appointed his son Tirumala *Yuvarāja* in A.D. 1524 when he was but six years old.[11]

During the period of his training the *Yuvarāja* was placed under the tutelage of able teachers who taught him the *Śāstras*, knowledge of which was necessary for a king. He was also trained in the science of weapons such as *śara*, *asi* (sword), *astra* (missile, bow, arrow), horse-riding and other similar arts necessary for kings[12] as well as the fine arts. Prince Raghunātha of Tanjore, for instance, was a master of music and was a great composer, himself designing several *rāgas*.[13]

Mere theory cannot sufficiently equip a ruler for the arduous task of administration and a period of practical training was considered necessary. Therefore when the prince reached the maturity of age to be placed in charge of administration, he was appointed viceroy or governor of one or other of the provinces, an office which helped him to come into contact with the problems of government and acquire experience in administration.

In this connection the so called system of Co-rulership that is said to have prevailed in the Vijayanagar court may be examined. This is a question of some constitutional importance. If one is to say that there was a Co-ruler as distinct from the *Yuva-*

11. In spite of such careful precautions there were palace revolutions and civil wars for the throne. For instance, on the death of Harihara II three of his sons, Bukka II, who was the *Yuvarāja* during his father's reign, Virūpākṣa and Dēva Rāya I competed for the throne. Later Dēva Rāya I succeeded to the throne, and was crowned in Ś. 1328=A.D. 1406 (*E.C.*, V, Hn. 133). It is not clear, however, why Dēva Rāya I was crowned king in preference to Bukka II who had already acted as *Yuvarāja* and had been Co-ruler with his father for some time. According to Nuniz, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya abdicated and enthroned his son Tirumala as the king of Vijayanagar (not as *Yuvarāja*) and himself became his son's Prime Minister. But it appears, as we shall see subsequently, that Tirumala was made only *Yuvarāja*. And Nuniz says that Kṛṣnadāva Rāya appointed his half-brother, Acyutadēva Rāya, his successor, which is borne out by a copper-plate of Acyuta. (*E.C.*, ix, Db. 30).

12. Gangādēvī, *Madhurāvijayam*, Canto 3, vv. 2 and 3.

13. Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, *Sāhityaratnākaram*, Canto 5.

rāja, what was his constitutional position and what was his relation to the *Yuvarāja*?

An inscription from the Bangalore taluk states that Śrī Vīra Ariyappa Uḍaiyar and Bukkana Uḍaiyar (Harihara I and Bukka I) were ruling together.[14] When fixing the regnal period of Vijaya Rāya, Gopinatha Rao concludes that he may have ruled only for six months. His conclusions are based on the following evidence. Dēva Rāya I appears to have died in 1422. Harihara III, the son of Dēva Rāya I made a grant in 1422 A.D. in order that his father "might attain with certainty to the world of merit."[15] Vijaya Bhūpati ascended the throne, but as Dēva Rāya II appears in a few epigraphs with imperial titles in Ś. 1345 (1423 A.D.),[16] Vijaya Rāya must have died by then. He argues that since grants are made for the merit of Dēva Rāya I in A.D. 1422, and since Dēva Rāya II appears with imperial titles early in 1423, Vijaya Rāya must have occupied the throne only for six or seven months.[17] But the assumption of imperial titles by Dēva Rāya II does not mean that Vijaya Rāya had died by that time for we find a few inscriptions of Vijaya dated later.[18] Vijaya Rāya I was himself ruling over the Mulubāgal rājya between 1406 and 1416. On the strength of these facts, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri are inclined to think that Vijaya Rāya and Dēva Rāya II were Co-regents respectively under their fathers.[19] Venkayya concludes his argument by remarking, "it may, of course be supposed that Vīra-Vijaya was consecrated king while his father was still alive and reigning, and the same might have been the case with Dēva Rāya II".[19a] Gopinatha Rao, however, asserts that "there is no precedent in the history of the first Vijayanagar dynasty for anointing a person before the death of his predecessor".[20] But the essential difference between these two views arises from the belief that the *Yuvarāja*

14. *E.C.*, IX, Bg. 59. The text runs as follows: *Śrīmanu Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran ... Śrī Vīra Ariyappa Uḍaiyarum Bukkaṇa Uḍaiyarum Pṛthvī rācciyam paṇṇā niṛkka.*

15. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 242. Ch. 159; *E.I.*; XV; p. 14. See also Robert Sewell and S. K. Aiyangar, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 213.

16. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 14; Sb. 565.

17. *E.I.*, XV, p. 14.

18. See, for instance, V.R. *I.M.P.*, II, Tj. 1460-A.

19. See *M.E.R.*, 1907, para 54; *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 247.

19a. *M.E.R.*, 1907, para 54.

20. *E.I.*, XV, p. 15.

and the Co-regent were two different persons. But such an assumption is beside the mark, and from the evidence of the relevant inscriptions one has to assume that generally it was the *Yuvarāja* who was the Co-ruler with the reigning king. Nevertheless he assumed imperial titles and ruled more or less independently in his province. Though the king's sons were generally sent out as provincial viceroys, only one among them was nominated *Yuvarāja* or Co-ruler; and he ascended the throne after the king's death. Occasionally he is mentioned as joint ruler and thus associated with the administration. But this expression may not be considered constitutionally significant.[21]

It seems that the leading people in the Empire had a voice in the selection of the heir. On the death of Śrī Ranga I and his brother Rāma, Venkaṭa II ascended the Vijayanagar throne in 1586, to the exclusion of Tirumala, the son of Rāma, and with the "unanimous vote of all the classes." A Jesuit letter says: "After the demise of this Prince's father the kingdom was given by the *unanimous vote of all the classes* to the brother of the deceased (Rāma III), i.e., the one that is ruling at present rejecting the rights of the deceased's children who on account of their age were not able to rule over a kingdom."[22] It is, however, unlikely that there was a system of voting and all the people took part in choosing the king. Obviously a few of the leading men of the Empire may have been consulted by the Emperor who sought their support when his nomination went against the ordinary rules governing succession.

The selection of the ruler appears to have been made generally in the presence of the ministers and nobles. This is corroborated by Barradas who says that just three days before his death, Venkaṭa II, in the presence of his 'captains' handed over the government of his vast Empire to his nephew Śrī Ranga II generally known as Cikka Rāya. On the advice of some of the 'captains' present on the occasion Cikka Rāya accepted the kingdom, though not himself anxious to ascend the throne. Another

21. Cp. 6 of 1905-06. Saletore also takes the view that the system of joint rule prevailed under the Vijayanagar kings, (*Political and Social Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 312-13); but the theory requires stronger evidence to be proved.

22. Letter from Fr. N. Pimenta, quoted by Rev. H. Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 301.

reason why he agreed to shoulder the responsibility was that Venkaṭa had no legitimate son to succeed him.[23]

Abdication

As in ancient India, a few of the ruling sovereigns of Vijayanagar abdicated in favour of their sons in the evening of their lives and retired from active politics to spend the rest of their life in pious meditation. Thus according to the account of Rājanātha Diṇḍima, Guṇḍa, the father of Śāḷuva Narasimha, installed his son as his successor and retired to the forests as a *Vānaprastha.*[24] Similarly in the Nāyak court of Tanjore Acyutappa installed his son on the throne and retired to the forests.[25]

It must be noted that the true significance of the coronation of the Crown Prince was not always properly understood by the chroniclers and foreign travellers. A few of them are of the opinion that it marked the abdication of the ruling sovereign. One such is Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler who speaks about the so-called abdication of Kṛṣṇdēva Rāya. He says: "The king perceiving that he was already advanced in years desiring to rest in his old (?) age and wishing his son to become King when he died, he determined to make him King during his life time, the boy being six years old and the King not knowing what would happen after his death. Wherefore he abdicated his throne and all his power and name and gave it all to his son and himself became his minister".[26]

A few records of the year Tāraṇa (A.D. 1524) mention Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya, son of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, as the ruling sovereign,[27] but there is no authority, epigraphical or literary, to show that the father abdicated in favour of his son. Most probably Nuniz mistook Tirumala's coronation as *Yuvarāja,* for his coronation as *king.* The account of Nuniz is not always dependable; for in one

23. Sewell, *op. cit.,* pp. 223-4.
24. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.,* p. 90.
25. *Ibid.,* p. 273.
26. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 359.
27. *E.C.,* IX, Mg. 6 and 82; 115; 116 and 117 of 1918; 139 of 1896 (*S.I.I.;* VI; No. 1004); 261 and 605 of 1929-30. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated Vaiśākha śu. 13 while the latest is dated Tāraṇa Mārg. śu 2. 605 of 1929-30 gives the date as Ś. 1446 Vyaya Kārttika. But the date appears to be clearly wrong for the corresponding Śaka year to the cyclic year Vyaya was 1448.

place he says that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was over 20 in 1509 and in another "an old man" in 1524. Further Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's position as his son's minister could not have given him, in his old age, the rest he desired according to Nuniz. The story of the abdication is thus undependable. A large number of inscriptions of the period ranging between 1525 and 1529 coming from various parts of the Empire, show that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was the Emperor till 1529. And inscriptions of the Emperor dating between Ś. 1446 Tāraṇa Vai. and Ś. 1446 Tāraṇa Mārga are found in plenty throughout the Empire.[28] These indicate that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya did not abdicate his throne, but was ruling during this period.[29]

Writing on Tirumala, Krishna Sastri thinks that he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Śrī Ranga I.[30] He quotes the *Vasucaritramu* in support of his statement, but there it is simply stated that Tirumala anointed Śrī Ranga as the *Yuvarāja*.[31] This is confirmed by another work called *Śrutarañjani*, a commentary on the *Gītagovinda* by Tirumala Rāya himself. It shows that the royal author left the administration of his Empire in the charge of his sons and spent his time amidst poets and literary men.[32] This too cannot be construed to mean that Tirumala abdicated his throne.

Thus the available evidence definitely shows that in the Vijayanagar period, as earlier in the Cōḷa days, the king in his own life-time anointed his son as *Yuvarāja* to obviate disputes regarding succession to the throne after his death. Making him *Yuvarāja*, the king gave him official training in administration. The *Yuvarāja* was placed in charge of the government of a part of the kingdom, the king watching his rule and guiding him from a distance.

28. The following are a few of the inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya during the rule of Tirumala; (1) 118 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, 72; Tāraṇa Āṇi; (2) *E.C.*; V, Bl. 78 dated Tārana Śrāvaṇa śu 5; (3) 101 of 1918; Tāraṇa Simha; (4) *E.C.*, IX Bn. 19, Tāraṇa Mārg. śu. 1, the date of 117 of 1918.

29. See *J.I.H.*, XVII, pt. I, pp. 54-59 for a detailed discussion of the question by the author; also *Proceedings of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 827-32.

30. *A.S.R.*, 1911-12, p. 181.

31. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

Regency

An important problem of the central government relates to regency. When the king was a minor, until he came of age and took up the reins of government into his own hands, a regent was nominated and entrusted with the government of the Empire in the name of the young ruler. But history provides examples of some Regents who abused their regency as lever for self-aggrandisement and for strengthening themselves against the legitimate ruler, eventually usurping all royal power and even dethroning and imprisoning the rightful king. The history of Vijayanagar abounds in instances of such misuse of regency, as by Vīra Narasimha and Rāma Rāya. From Nuniz one learns that Sāḷuva Narasimha at the time of his death entrusted the administration of his vast Empire to his trusted general Narasā Nāyaka until the princes (his sons) should come of age.[33] This statement of the chronicler is confirmed by the independent testimony of a large number of inscriptions which specifically show that Narasā Nāyaka was the administrator when Immaḍi Narasimha was ruling the kingdom.[34] An inscription dated A.D. 1498-99[35] states that Narasā Nāyiningāru was a *pampu*[36] with Sāḷuva Immaḍi Narasimha Rāya in the sovereignty of Vijayanagar. After the death of Narasā Nāyaka his son Vīra Narasimha acted as the regent for some time. But later he usurped the throne and founded the Tulūva line of kings of which the greatest was Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.

If one is to believe Couto, the Portuguese historian, Sadāśiva was but sixteen years old when he ascended the throne. Hence Ramā Rāya administered the kingdom for the king. About 1550 Sadāśiva was imprisoned and Rāma Rāya claimed from that time equal status with the king; but since 1563 the minister had become almost an usurper and ruled the Empire as an independent sovereign assuming all imperial titles. According to Ferishta he destroyed 'many of the ancient nobility and raised his own family to the highest rank.'[36a] Caesar Frederick records that he "sat on

33. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

34. 143 of 1915; *M.E.R.*, 1916, para 102; *ibid.*, 1918, para 108.

35. 386 of 1904; *M.E.R.*, 1905, para 44; *E.I.*, VII, p. 78.

36. This term is taken to mean 'a partner' by the Government Epigraphist, which is not, however, correct. Strictly, taken as a verb, it means 'to send'. *Pampu* is also used as a noun and it denotes one who is sent by another, (i.e.) a representative.

36a. Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, p. 81.

the Royal throne and was called king."[37] Thus Rāma Rāya also proved an usurper. Speaking about his usurpation Rev. H. Heras thinks that the imprisonment of Sadāśiva and the usurpation of all royal authority by the chief minister "was due more to the incapability of the young puppet sovereign than to his own ambition," and adds that "from this point of view this usurpation provides a special sidelight of self-sacrifice for the welfare of the country and the salvation of the empire."[38] But it is difficult to agree with this view. This argument can be urged to justify the usurpation by any able minister. If really Rāma Rāya was only anxious to ensure the efficient administration of the Empire he could well have accomplished this end even as a minister.

There are, thus, ample instances to illustrate fully the evils of the regency system in Vijayanagar history. Such palace revolutions had their repercussions on the Empire, and generally discontent spread in the realm. When Salakam Rāju Tirumala usurped the throne in 1542 by "sinning" against his lord Venkata I, perhaps by murdering him, there was a protracted civil war in South India. The regency system brings out in relief the influence of ministers at the imperial court. Under strong kings they were obedient and loyal while under weak ones they tried to usurp all royal power and rule the country independently of the nominal king and at time even at his expense.

Royal Functions

In ancient and medieval India the functions of the State as conceived by her political thinkers and kings were not merely those of the policeman or the soldier. Though the State in India paid great attention to these functions, yet it had for its ultimate end something higher and nobler. The Hindu State afforded ample opportunities and scope for the citizens to improve themselves mentally and morally. In India the king as the chief in the Empire was charged with certain duties and responsibilities for the progress of the society.

Confining one's attention to the Vijayanagar State one notes that the primary duty of the king was to afford protection to all his subjects and redress their grievances. In fact these are the most elementary functions of any State. This primary duty of

37. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X. p. 93.
38. *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 219-220.

rakṣaṇam entailed a double responsibility on the king. One was to protect the country from the foreigner. The Vijayanagar Empire itself was founded to stem the tide of Muslim aggression. The other was to maintain an efficient police and military organization in the State to ensure the preservation of law and order in the country. Allied to these was the king's duty of redressing the grievances of the people. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya desired that the kings should always be anxious to protect their subjects and redress their grievances.[39]

There are many instances in the history of Vijayanagar which show that the king interfered in the administration of the provinces to put an end to the oppression of the people by their chiefs. Two of them may be mentioned here. Two valuable lithic records, one found at Kiḷūr and the other Elavānāśūr, (both in the South Arcot District) disclose certain interesting facts. According to them, the ministers took presents by force from the Right and Left Hand classes at the beginning of each reign; and the discontented ryots in consequence migrated to other regions; worship and festivals ceased in temples and the country became full of disease, and many died. Hence the king interfered and prohibited such extortion in future, and required that the order should be engraved in the whole country. But Annappa Uḍaiyār, to whom the royal order had been addressed, got it engraved only in some places, but not in others. Hence an order was sent to Nāgarasa, who made known the order of the king to the whole country. These records show that the kings took an active interest in orderly government[40] and tried to put an end to oppression by their subordinates.

Another inscription at Āragaḷūr in the Salem district speaks of the oppression by the *rājagaram*, and the king's interference. It registers that three *sthānikas* of the temple of Perumāḷ Kariyavar went on a deputation to the king at Vijayanagar, and complained of the injustice done by the royal officers (*rājagaram*) stationed at Dēviyākuricci, a village belonging to the temple. The chief Amaram Timmarasa introduced them to the king, got their grievances redressed, presented them each with a garland, a head dress, a horse and an umbrella and granted 900 *kuḷi* of wet land at Poṉ Parappi and at Dēviyākuricci as a *sarvamānya* gift.[41]

39. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, v. 205.
40. 23 of 1905 and 161 of 1906; *M.E.R.*, 1905-06, para 55.
41. 449 of 1913.

More important than this elementary duty of the State was the maintenance of *dharma* in the land and preservation of the social solidarity of the people by enforcing among them the duty of the observance of their *svadharma* based on immemorial custom and the authority of the Vedas. Probably at no time did the State in India interfere with the private life of the citizens so much as in the medieval period. The Vijayanagar Empire itself was founded to preserve and promote Hindu *dharma* and transform the '*Kali* age to the *Kṛta* age'. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists on the protection of *dharma* by the kings. The royal poet says: "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *dharma*; the lives of the Gods like Indra, Varuṇa and Vaiśravaṇa, Vāyu and Agni are the results of their actions. The various worlds as *Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ* and *Suvaḥ* owe their positions to *dharma*."[42] The assumption of the title *Defenders of Dharma and Protectors of Castes* by the Vijayanagar kings indicate fully the vigour with which the kings enforced *svadharma* among the different castes and communities in in the Empire. They supported and encouraged the *maṭhas* which enjoyed a definite place in the religious and social life of the people. It should not, however, be thought that the kings considered themselves to be ecclesiastical or religious heads. They were only anxious to maintain social solidarity in the Empire and ensure peace and prosperity. Their policy towards secular and religious institutions was on the whole well balanced. This may be gathered, for instance, from Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's statement, about the treatment of the mendicants. He insists that a king should not in his partiality for letters give large sums of money and villages to them (since the mendicants and ascetics were considered to be learned men) lest they should swerve from their necessary discipline, which would increase in the state evils like famine, disease and infantile mortality and further remarks that in such cases it would be sufficient if the king showed *bhakti* (respect and devotion) towards them. He further says that the only evil that might then result is their suffering, but no sin would accrue to the sovereign.[43] There were of course inequalities and no attempt was ever made to level down distinctions. But, as Dr. Bandyopadhyaya says, "with the peculiar ideas and beliefs dominating the minds of men in those days 'equality never became a political necessity'

42. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, v. 285.
43. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 242.

with Indian thinkers; and in the midst of these differences ample room was found for co-operation and progress; with a composite social structure, with all its cultural or occupational differences not to be obliterated easily, this was all they could look to and strove for."[44]

The Vijayanagar Emperors were not indifferent to the economic progress of the people. They knew that public weal greatly depended on agricultural prosperity and a flourishing trade. Under them forests were cleared, new villages were formed, and fresh lands were brought under cultivation. Where these were not possible, irrigation facilities were afforded, the burden of taxation was lightened, and the yield from land was sought to be increased. Trade with foreign countries was encouraged. Immigrants from foreign lands were afforded protection befitting their nationalities.[45] Foreign merchants were helped to settle in the capital and were provided with decent dwellings in the city.[46] Some industries also received encouragement at the hands of the State, and mining was actually undertaken by it.[47]

Another function that devolved on the king was the administration of justice. The Vijayanagar kings fully realised that the coherence of society depended on *daṇḍa* (punishment). They were anxious to redress the grievances of the people and do them justice. The king was the highest court of appeal, and when the lower courts failed to do justice, the sufferer could appeal to the king who dispensed justice. Cruel punishments were generally deprecated,[48] though they were not given up.

The pursuit of a strong and vigorous foreign policy was another of the king's duties. He should wait for the most favourable opportunity to attack the enemy. If the enemy had internal foes in his kingdom, then the king was to sow the seeds of dissension there and thus weaken it so that it could be easily conquered.[49] But if the ruler in a neighbouring State should be friendly with the

44. *Kauṭilya*, p. 286.
45. *Āmukta*, Canto IV, v. 245.
46. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 258.
47. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 245.
48. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 252.
49. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 248.

enemy and hostile to the king who created it then it should be destroyed.[50]

Checks on Royal Authority

Though the king was the most important organ in the body politic, he was never an autocrat. His powers were generally limited by certain codes and institutions. Of course there was no constitutional check on the rapacity and high handedness of a ruler. But the administration was based more on conventions and experience than on formal, rigid constitutional laws. The independence of the king was thus controlled by various factors.

The Vijayanagar kings, like many kings in ancient India, were no law-makers. The laws were already in existence which they were to respect, follow and execute. The sources of such laws were the *Vedas, Smṛtis* and the *Dharmaśāstras.* The Vijayanagar kings claimed, as many other kings have done, a divine origin for their power. But such a claim in India is not in any way analogous to the divine right claimed by the early Stuarts in England. The British monarchs of the early seventeenth century claimed divine origin for themselves to support their absolutism. But the Hindu claim or the theory behind it was never intended to be a weapon of autocratic rule. According to Hindu belief the king was an incarnation of God on earth for the support of the people by ruling over them righteously. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya observes: "Manu, Daṇḍadhara and others became known as followers of *dharma* only by finding out the mistakes of the subjects and punishing them. The anointed king who is equal to God and who is created by God (*Prajāpati*) in various forms for the purpose of ruling the subjects is known by various terms which are sanctioned by the *Vedas* as *Virāṭ, Samrāṭ,* and should put up with the trouble and relieve the sufferings of the people".[51] Really it is difficult to call such a king an autocrat, a king who was actuated in his actions by his keen sense of moral responsibility to his subjects.

This apart, there were also more visible checks on the powers of the king. One of them was the organised community itself. It is said that one of the characteristics of the present day political

50. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 266.

51. *Ibid.*, Canto IV, v. 285.

theory is its reaction against the State and a silent political fact is the increasing amount and power of group life, trade unions, and professional societies, citizens' leagues, and neighbourhood associations. Such leagues and guilds were not unknown in ancient and medieval India. There were the associations of the *nānādēśis,* the *nāḍus,* the *ayyavōle,* craft guilds the groups of ninety-eight sects, each of which had a definite organisation. They made rules and regulations for themselves. As Radhakumud Mookerjee observes, "it is the quasi-instinctive postulates and conventions of group-life which come to be formulated as *law* and not the mandate, command or decree of a single central authority in the state. Law, under the conditions, is not an *arte-fact,* but a natural growth of consensus and communal life."[52] The State did not interfere with their functions except when there arose conflicts among them which proved dangerous to the maintenance of peace in the kingdom. The Central Government was content with the exercise of a supervisory control over them.

An interesting inscription from Viriñcipuram in the North Arcot district describes a regulation made by a few communities for themselves. The representatives of the Brahmans of the kingdom of Paḍaivīḍu among whom Karnāṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa Brahmans are mentioned, signed an agreement to the effect that henceforth marriages among their families had only to be concluded by *kanyādāna,* i.e., that the father had to give his daughter to the bridegroom gratuitously, and that both the father who accepted money and the bridegroom who paid money for the bride should be punished by the king and excommunicated from their caste.[53] Thus the communities made regulations for themselves and the king's duty was only to enforce them.

Custom and public opinion contributed their share to control the exercise of royal highhandedness. The differences in the practices of the people arose from the peculiar local customs prevailing in the different parts of the Empire. There was no uniformity in the weights and measures and they actually varied from place to place. It was difficult for the king to make any innovation or regulation contrary to the accepted customary usages in different localities.

52. *Nationalism in Hindu Culture,* pp. 99-100.

53. See *S.I.I.,* 1, No. 56.

An undated record which seems to belong to the fifteenth century, coming from Peṇṇāḍam in the South Arcot district, states that any one introducing or using in the locality a measuring rod other than the *mūvāyiravaṇkōl* (whose linear measurement is indicated by two marks cut on the stone about fifteen feet apart) was to be awarded the same punishment as *śivadrōhins, grāmadrōhins* and *nāṭṭudrōhins*.[53a] There seem to have been several measuring rods in use in the different parts of the Empire. Any standardisation of these measures was looked upon with suspicion. Any innovation proposed in the standard measures prevalent in a locality was considered so heinous a crime that it was classed with *nāṭṭudrōham*.[54]

An examination of the formidable list of taxes in the Vijayanagar Empire will reveal the fact that they were based largely on custom. Payments made to the overlord by the tenant or by the subject to the government were usually customary dues. Custom governed sales of land. With the purchase of land a person got all the customary dues and periodical forced contributions and the State could not interfere in these matters.

Another equally important check on royal authority, needless to say, was public opinion, which though perhaps less organised then, was no less effective than in our own day. In India this opinion was expressed by the people generally not by obstructing the work of the government, but by their peaceful and silent migration, *en masse*, to places outside the affected areas. The levy of fresh and heavy taxes was opposed by the people in this manner. In the history of the Vijayanagar Empire such migrations were not infrequent. Particularly the occupation of the southern portions of the Empire by the Kannaḍiyas[55] and their oppressive policy resulted in such evacuations.

An incomplete record coming from Tiruveṇṇainallūr in the South Arcot district states that as the shepherds in charge of the temple cattle in Tiruvaḍi śīrmai were unable to pay the *śaḍak-*

53a. *Śivadrōhin*: traitor against *Śiva* (God); *grāmadrōhin*: traitor against the village; *nāṭṭudrōhin*: traitor against the country.

54. 249 of 1928; *Rep.*, para 78.

55. S. K. Aiyangar thinks that they were the Hoysalas. But they were more probably the Tuluvas who appear to have migrated to the east with Timma, the grandfather of Narasâ Nāyaka, and entered the service of the Sāḷuvas.

kaḍaimai tax and migrated to other places, their tax was reduced by an Aramvaḷartta Nāyaṇār, the agent of Narasā Nāyaka, to 1½ *paṇams* per year per *payir*, a particular unit.[56] Finding that public opinion was not in favour of the contribution of the marriage tax payable by the bride and bridegroom at the time of the marriage of a virgin, the enlightened Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya remitted it. There are many records which praise not only the king but also the locally influential people for this remission.[57]

The Royal Council was another very important check on the king's authority. The kings never ruled without this Council and they consulted it on state matters and policy. This Council performed the coronation of the king and conducted the administration of the country. Under weak kings it rose to great influence and power. Usually the Council was dominated by one strong minister, the *Pradhāni*. Rāmarāya's influence in Sadāsiva's court is seen from the details disclosed by a lithic record which states that he made the ministers perform the coronation of Sadāśiva. Even powerful kings like Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya consulted the Council before undertaking any work; this is borne out by the evidence of the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu*, which states that soon after his coronation the Emperor enquired of his ministers about the amount of his imperial revenues and the strength of his army, and they furnished him with the necessary information.[58] Again according to the same work, after defeating the Muslims, the king consulted Sāḷuva Timma on the advisability of proceeding further into the Muslim territories, and when the minister advised him not to undertake such a rash task, the king accepted the advice.[59]

In estimating the character of the Vijayanagar administration, Vincent Smith remarks that "the Vijayanagar king was an autocrat of the most absolute possible kind unrestrained by any form of check".[60] Iswari Prasad, too, says it was an autocracy, and observes that the needs of the Empire determined the character of the government.[61] It is true that what was required in the Vijayanagar period was a strong and efficient army to arrest Muslim

56. 450 of 1921.
57. 387 of 1904; *E.C.*, XII, Mg. 64.
58. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 130.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
60. *Oxford History of India*, p. 311.
61. *Med. Ind.*, p. 423.

aggressions and put down the turbulent feudal vassals, and hence the Vijayanagar kings were keen on the military organisation in the Empire; and they succeeded in that task to a large extent. They directly recruited soldiers to the army, gathered feudal levies and effected reforms in their army organisation on the lines of the Muslims. But such a policy calculated to improve the organisation and efficiency of the military did not in any way affect the character of the government. The old and traditional view that the government was for the good of the governed still continued to actuate the motives and policy of the Vijayanagar kings. They had a paternal conception of their duties and obligations to their subjects. There may have been kings who did not care much for the good of the people, but they were very few and unpopular. In fact an inscription of Harihara II says that he maintained the customs of the various castes and protected all his subjects as if they were his own children.[62] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was also influenced by this paternal conception of the duties of a king and his government towards the people, and tried to remove their difficulties and redress their grievances. His views on the duties of kings towards the subjects are available to us in his *Āmuktamālyada* where he says: "Be always intent upon protecting your subjects . . . ; the people of a country wish the welfare of the king who seeks the progress and prosperity of the country".[63] The same view is expressed by Allasāni Peddana, the poet laureate of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's court, in his description of the ideal kingship of Svārōciṣa Manu, the hero of his *Manucaritamu*. The poet says that the king Svārōciṣa Manu "ruled over his subjects with kindness as if they were his own children".[64] It looks as though he has described here the rule of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, his patron. This passage reminds one of Aśoka's Borderer's Edict where the great Emperor says: "All men are my children, and just as for my children I desire that they should enjoy all happiness and prosperity both in this world and in the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity". The same feelings were held by most of the Vijayanagar kings towards their subjects. They had the welfare of the governed at heart, and to this end strained every nerve. If the machinery of the government is only a means to achieve an end—the good of the

62. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75.
63. *Āmukta*, canto IV, vv. 205 & 206.
64. *Manucaritamu*, canto VI, v. 117.

people—then the Vijayanagar government, being actuated by a paternal conception of its duties, ministered to the needs of the people and attended to their welfare.

Section II

The Imperial Council

The study of the old administrative institutions of any country is beset with many difficulties. When we begin to consider, for instance, the Impeiral Council of Vijayanagar, certain problems present themselves for solution. The nature and composition of the Imperial Council, whether the members in it were hereditary or chosen otherwise, the qualifications expected of its members, how far the decisions of the Council were binding on the king—these may serve as examples of such problems.

Besides the Council of Ministers which advised the kings on matters of state, there seems to have been in existence another Council which was large. But it does not appear to have been always with the king to advise him. The Vijayanagar Empire being made up of a large number of provincial units, each under a *nāyaka* who held his office on a feudal basis from the king, it was but fair and right that the feudal vassals should be present at the imperial court at least on ceremonial occasions. There were also the pontifical heads and great scholars, bards, dancers, painters and others depending on state patronage, who had to be honoured. The sentiments of the semi-independent rulers on the borders of the Empire had to be respected. It seems likely that all these composed the larger Council of the Vijayanagar kings.[65] The *Manucaritamu* mentions an assembly of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya which was attended by the *amaranāyakas* and their representatives, rulers of subordinate territories, princes, *dalavāys,* traders and ambassadors from foreign kingdoms.[66] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya also mentions an assembly which even the ambassadors from foreign countries attended.[67]

But its size must have been unwieldy for all practical purposes; nor could there have been in it men qualified to advise the king on matters of state. It was a matter of great honour and

65. *Journal of the Telugu Academy,* III, p. 13.
66. Canto I, vv. 12-13.
67. *Amukta,* canto I, 18-4-1259.

dignity to be a member of this Assembly, even as it is in the case of the Privy Council in England to-day. This Assembly bears a distant resemblance to the *Commune Concilium* of the Norman kings in England. The presence of feudal vassals in this Imperial Assembly added strength to the king. It ensured the loyalty of the feudatories to the imperial house and their pledge of support to the imperial cause.

Apart from this larger Assembly there was a Council smaller in size which the king was often obliged to consult in the administration of the Empire. It was a permanent body which influenced the policy of the king. In its constitution and powers it was analogous to the *Mantriparişad* of Kauţilya. It appears the Council generally met in a special chamber. According to the *Acyutarāyābhyudayam*, the Council met in a hall which was called *Venkaţavilāsamaṇţapa*.[68] It is perhaps the same building which Paes describes: "Thence he (the king) goes to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls, which has many pillars hung with cloths, up to the top, and with the walls handsomely painted. In such a building he despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom and govern his cities, and his favourites talk with him".[69] Barbosa too mentions a Council room: "The said king . . . . has a certain house as a hall of audience where he is present on certain days with his governors and officers to hear the correspondence and attend to the administration of the kingdom".[70]

It is difficult to determine the numerical strength of this Council. It must have varied from time to time. Nuniz says that the nephew of Dēva Rāya II was one of the twenty ministers of the king. From the somewhat confused account of the Portuguese chronicler[71] one is led to think that the near relatives of the king were also members of the Ministerial Council. They could not have been in charge of any department of government but seem to have been on the Council owing to their blood relationship with the king. The number of the ministers is not, however, definitely known. But it was the practice both in ancient and in medieval Hindu governments to fix it at eight or ten.

68. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 162.
69. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
70. Dames, *Barbosa*, I, pp. 208-209.
71. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

It was on such a principle traditionally followed that the *Aṣṭa-pradhan* Council of Śivāji was formed.

The ministers had their own official designations. From the inscriptions of the period we may infer that the following were some of the more important officers of government, who served as the ministers of the king. The *Pradhāni* who was at times called *Mahāpradhāni*[71a] or *Śiraḥ pradhāna*[71b] or *Mahāśirah Pradhāni*[72] the *Upapradhāni*,[73] the *Daḷaadhikāri* or *Daṇṇāyaka*,[74] the *Mahā-sāmantādhipati*,[74] or *Sāmantādhikāri*[75] and a few others were such ministers. The heads of some administrative departments also seem to have had seats in the Ministerial Council. Poet Candra-kavi mentions in his *Virūpākṣasthāna*, a *Campū* that describes the court of God Virūpākṣa, that Gururāya who was known as Rāya-bhaṇḍāri Nārāyaṇa (Royal treasurer, Nārāyaṇa) was a minister of the king.[76] From the Kṛṣṇāpuram plates of Sadāśiva Rāya which state that Rāmarāya and a few other *chief* ministers (*amātya tilakāḥ*) performed the coronation of Sadāśiva,[77] it may be gathered that the Council consisted of a few influential ministers and others of lesser status. There were, thus, two categories of members in the Council: (a) the Prime Minister, Ministers, Deputy ministers, and Heads of the Departments and (b) a few blood relations of the king. If these two classes of members had seats in the Council, then, the statement of Nuniz that the king had twenty ministers may not be wrong.

Ancient Indian writers on *nīti* insisted that the Cabinet should be small; Kauṭilya says, for instance, that the Council should not consist of more than three or four members.[78] In times of war, when action was more important than deliberation, the Council must have been as small as possible.

71a. 61 of 1935-36.

71b. *E.C.*, IX, Dv. 29.

72. *E.C.*, III, Tn. 120.

73. 689 of 1922.

74. *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 71.

74a. 143 of 1935-36.

75. *E.C.*, IX, Dv. 29.

76. Narasimhacharya, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Carite*, II, p. 81.

77. *E.I.*, IX, p. 334, I. 71.

78. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, ch. 15.

In ancient India the *Purohita* was a member of the Ministerial Council of the king and enjoyed great respect[79] in the court. But his power and influence seem to have waned in medieval times. He became more and more the religious *guru* (preceptor) of the kings, not taking much interest in the administration of the Empire, though there may have been exceptions.

The *Mantriparişad* had a President, *Sabhānāyaka*, to preside over its deliberations. Possibly the Prime Minister was the President of the Council. This is indicated by a lithic record which states that Teppada Nāgaṇṇa who was the Senior Minister of Bukka I, was the Lord of the Council (*Sabhānāyaka*).[80] We do not know exactly what connection the king had with the meetings and deliberations of this Council, whether actually he or the Prime Minister with his knowledge and approval, convened its meetings The evidence at our disposal shows that the king himself convened the meetings to discuss certain questions. The instances of Dēva Rāya summoning "a council of his nobility and principal Brahmans" to concert measures for improving the Vijayanagar army, and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya conferring with his ministers on the eve of his wars against the Gajapati, are good illustrations of this procedure.[81] Probably the king presided over the meetings of the Council when grave questions had to be discussed and decided; and the Lord of the Council (*Sabhānāyaka*) may have presided over ordinary meetings of the Council in the place and absence of the king.

Strict secrecy was maintained about the deliberations of the Cabinet. According to the *Kauṭilīya* even birds and animals like parrots, dogs, and deer, were not to be allowed near the place where the Cabinet of ministers met.[82] The *Āmuktamālyada* too stresses the principle of the maintenance of secrecy of the deliberations and proceedings of the Cabinet.[83]

A high qualification was expected of the minister. He was to be a scholar, afraid of *adharma*, well versed in *rāja nīti*, between the ages of fifty and seventy, healthy in body, his connection

79. *Ibid.*, Bk. I, Ch. 9.
80. *E.C.*, VI, Mg. 25.
81. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 430; Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-25.
82. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 15.
83. *Āmukta.*, canto IV, v. 252.

with the king coming down from previous generations, and he was not to be conceited. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya assures that under such a minister, the *angas* of a king (the constituents of royalty) would increase in a single day.[84] It is also said in the *Navaratnamulu* that the king should possess a versatile minister for, with one such, he would find uses for his sword and deed.[85] From the known facts about the ministers of the Vijayanagar kings, one cannot dismiss this as a mere ideal aimed at by the rulers. The history of the Vijayanagar Empire furnishes a long line of able and successful ministers.[85a] The hereditary principle seems to have been recognised in choosing them. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists on the previous connection of their family with the ruling house.[86] The royal poet also says that a king should not allow into his secret counsels an officer who had been made a lord recently, lest he should feel proud of the favours shown to him and betray state secrets.[87] Many of the Vijayanagar ministers were in office during the reigns of successive kings. Mudda Daṇḍanātha was the Prime Minister both under Bukka I and Harihara II.[88] The latter king is said to have inherited from his father the wealth of the kingdom and the city together with Mudda Daṇḍanātha.[89] Similarly Sāyaṇa was the Minister of both Bukka I[90] and Harihara II.[91] Nāgappa Daṇṇāyaka who was minister of Dēva Rāya I[92] continued to be the minister of Dēva Rāya II and is mentioned as Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka.[93] Thus instances can be multiplied of the same person continuing to be minister under successive kings. But it cannot be said that ministers and kings were always on friendly terms. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in a paroxysm of fury is said to have blinded and put into prison not only Sāḷuva Timma, his trusted minister, but also his son Timmaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka and brother

84. *Ibid.*, canto IV, v. 211.
85. *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari*, p. 36; *Mys. Gaz.*, New Edn. Vol. II, pt. iii, p. 1712.
85a. See *I.A.*, LVII, p. 77 for a list of the ministers under the early Śangamas.
86. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 211.
87. *Ibid.*, canto IV, v. 260.
88. *E.C.*, V, Cn. 256; XI, Dg. 34.
89. *Ibid.*, Bl. 75.
90. *I.A.*, XLV, p. 22.
91. *Ibid.*
92. 345 of 1905.
93. *E.C.*, XI, Dv. 29; *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 245.

Gōvinda Rāya suspecting them of having murdered his young son Tirumala.

The Ministerial Council was a strong and pōwerful body. There were rival interests in the Council, and hence the king needed to have a close watch over its discussions and deliberations. According to the *Āmuktamālyada,* if a few ministers in the Council opposed the advice of a particular minister out of spite, then he was not to reject the advice of any one of them but discover their personal motives. He was, then, to dissolve the Council and follow the advice of the ministers who had been opposed in the Council.[94] He was also expected to use his good sense in the administration of the kingdom without too often consulting undesirable ministers "who being devoid of virtues would prove a source of trouble in the same way as the pearl which is as big as a pumpkin when worn".[95]

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, like Kauṭilya, suggests that the king should watch the actions of his ministers through his spies, lest they should undertake unnecessary and unprofitable works under the presumption that they were in the good books of the king.[96]

It was the members of the Council who crowned the king[97] and carried on the administration under his guidance. Strong kings may at times have curtailed their powers, influence and freedom by their domineering personality and force of will; but under weak kings their influence and power were great and they had complete control over the policy of the state. Even a strong and able monarch like Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya at times felt that the Council was too powerful and that the king was a puppet in its hands. He is said to have remarked in one of his soliloquies: "I am sitting on the throne, but the world is ruled by the ministers; who listens to my words?"[98]

It would be interesting to examine here how far the decisions or advice of the Council were binding on the king. The monarch was expected to seek the advice of the Council on all important matters of state, but not all monarchs took the advice of the

94. *Āmukta,* canto IV, v. 227.
95. *Ibid.,* vv. 212 and 213.
96. *Ibid.,* v. 265.
97. *E.I.,* IX, pp. 334 and 340.
98. *Rāyavācakamu, Journal of the Telugu Academy,* III, p. 30.

Council, and some may have even converted the Council to their way of thinking. If Nuniz is to be believed, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya ignored the Council's advice regarding the campaign he led into the territory of Ydalcão. When "the lords of his Council" told the king that the reason for which he invaded the Bījāpur territory was rather petty and that "he should think of what would be said and talked of throughout the world" he did not listen to their advice. Hence the Councillors seeing him "unmoved from his determination to make war" let him have his way, and contented themselves with making a few suggestions about the route he was to take for the campaign.[99] From such an instance as this we may reasonably presume that the king, if he had the strength of will and tenacity of purpose, could have his way and make the Council submit to his will.

Another question that interests us is the tenure of the ministers. They seem to have been in office so long as they were in the confidence of the king. There does not seem to have been any definite term for which one could be minister. Everything depended upon the ability and usefulness of the person. Further, some of the ministers were appointed provincial governors as well. Lakaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka the great minister of Dēva Rāya II, for instance, during the period of his office was also the governor of some province or other.

In some of the Vijayanagar inscriptions we get reference to official designations such as the *Upapradhāni*,[100] *Pradhāni*,[101] *Mahāpradhāni*,[102] *Śirapradhāni*,[103] and the *Sarvaśirapradhāni*[104] which seem to point to a ministerial hierarchy.

The *Pradhāni*, as also the great officers of state, bore the title *Daṇḍanāyaka*. The word *Daṇḍanāyaka* admits of two interpretations: (i) "the leader of the forces" and (ii) "the lord of the administration".[104a] The assumption of the official designation *Daṇḍanāyaka* by the great officers of state can be traced back to the Gupta days. Fleet calls the *Daṇḍanāyaka* of the Gupta period

99. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-25.
100. 689 of 1922.
101. 681 of 1922.
102. 117 of 1901.
103. *E.C.*. IX. Dv. 29 and *E.C.*. III, Nj. 88.
104. *Ibid.*, III, Tn. 120.
104a. *Daṇḍa* means both an army and a judicial punishment.

the 'leader of the forces'.[105] But Jayaswal has clearly shown that this interpretation is unacceptable and that the word means "lord of the administration, for the ministers who bear that title in the inscriptions were civilian officers as proved by their other titles."[106]

This interpretation is applicable to the *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Vijayanagar as well. In Vijayanagar the *Pradhānis*, besides the officers of state, were known as *Daṇḍanāyakas*. From this title, however, one cannot say that the bearers of the same were the leaders of the forces, for they appear to have been the lords of civil administration. In the Vijayanagar days the designation for the *Senāpati* of ancient India was *Daḷa-da-adhikāri* or *Daḷavāy*.[107] At times he was also called *Saravasainyādhipati* or *Sarvasainyādhikāri* (Commander-in-Chief of all the forces.) For instance, an inscription mentions Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka as the *Mahāpradhāna* of Śrī Vīrapratāpa Dēva Rāya Mahārāya and Cāma Nṛpāla as the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces (*Sarvasainyādhikāri*) of the same king.[108] Here the point to be noted is that the *Mahāpradhāni*, who was a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, is mentioned as a separate officer having probably nothing direct to do with the army organization, and another officer Cāma Nṛpāla by name is said to have been the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the Empire. This distinction between the *Mahāpradhāni* and the *Sarvasainyādhikāri* indicates in no uncertain terms that while the former, a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, was an administrative officer and even the Prime Minister of the king, the latter was a military commander in charge of the army. The *Daṇḍanāyakas* appear to have been at times appointed as governors of provinces also, as may be seen from the case of Mahāpradhāni Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka who was the *dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* at Madura under Dēva Rāya II.[108a] Then again 'Abdur Razzāk says that it was the *dannaik* (*Daṇḍanāyaka*) that was the judge at the imperial headquarters.[109] It is difficult to believe that a *Daṇḍanāyaka* could have been a judge if we take the word to mean "a leader of the forces" along with Fleet; if it

105. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 16, fn.
106. *Hindu Polity*, pt. II, p. 149.
107. *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 71.
108. *Ibid.*, XI, Dv. 29.
108a. 141 of 1903; *S.I.I.*, VIII, No. 428; 28 of 1913; 567 of 1904; 100 of 1911; see for another instance *E.C.*, IX, An. 85 in which Iraṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka is called *Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati*.
109. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 108.

had really been so then, in the Vijayanagar Empire, there could not have been any good rule, but only military rule.[110] The *Pradhāni* who generally bore the title *Daṇḍanāyaka* was thus an administrative officer in charge of the general administration of the Empire. This is supported by a few other names by which, for instance, he was generally known. Sāḷuva Timma, for instance, is called in an inscription the great minister, the *Tantranāyaka*.[111] This designation seems to mean the lord of government, for *tantra* means government (execution) as opposed to *mantra* (deliberation). Many of the *Pradhānis* were also called the *Kāryakarta*[112] or the *Rājyabhāradhurandhara* (the bearer of the burden of the kingdom).[115] Such designations as these clearly show that the *Pradhāni* who was generally called a *Daṇḍanāyaka* was usually in charge of the general administration of the Empire.[116]

But how are we to explain the military duties and obligations of the Prime Minister? Dēva Rāya II's minister, Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka, led an expedition to Ceylon. In the wars of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Sāḷuva Timma took a leading part. Nuniz says that the latter followed the king in his wars taking conspicuous part in them, and that his contingent consisted of 60,000 foot, 3,500 horses and 39 elephants in the Raicūr campaign. Besides the Prime Minister, all the important officers of state in the Empire had such military obligations. Instead of being paid in cash these great officers of state were granted districts or small areas which they ruled on behalf of the king and their remuneration consisted of

110. See *infra*, Chapter on Law and Justice.
111. *E.C.*, VII, Mg. 64.
112. *Ibid.*, X, Ml. 5.
113. *Ibid.*, IV, Cp. 52.
114. *Ibid.*, IX, Ma. 11.
115. 245 of 1913.
116. Nelson in describing the administrative system of the Nāyaks of Madura expresses the view that the two offices of the *Pradhāni* and *Daḷavāy* of the king were originally distinct but were amalgamated only under Viśvanātha Nāyaka. (V. Rangachari, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 113, and R. Satyanathier *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 235). In the light of the above evidence it is difficult to believe that the duties of the *Pradhāni* and the *Daḷavāy* were fused together at that period to secure "military efficiency" in the administration (Nelson). It is of course true that Nelson makes his observations only on the system of administration under the Nāyaks of Madura, but inasmuch as that was largely a copy of the Vijayanagar system his remarks are as much applicable to the Vijayanagar system as to that of the Madura Nāyaks.

the difference in the amount of money they collected from the people and the money they paid to the imperial exchequer as their tribute or contribution. They were also required to maintain for the king a definite quota of the military forces.

This practice bears some resemblance to the *Mansabdar* system in the Mughal period. Under the Mughals the high officers of state had a double function—civil and military. The term *Mansabdar* means simply "holder of a place" and is derived from the Arabic word *Mansab* (place) which was imported from Turkistan and Persia.[117] Each *Mansabdar* was required to furnish the king with a certain portion of the army. The importance of the office one held in the state varied with the number of horses and foot he was to maintain for the state. Thus the Vijayanagar system was in some respects analogous to it.

The *Pradhāni*, the fore-runner of the Maratha Peshwa, had a very important place in the State. About Sāḷuva Timma, the minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Paes writes: "He commands the whole household and to him all the greatest lords act as to the king."[118] And Nuniz observes that Sāḷuva Timma was the principal person in the kingdom.[119] An inscription from Paruttipaḷḷi in the Salem district mentions Narasane Nāyaka Uḍaiyār to be the agent of the king Dharma Rāya Mahārāya, and says that he was actually ruling for him (*pṛthvīrājyam paṇṇum*),[120] while another from Bapatla describes Sāḷuva Timma as Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's own body, and says that he bore the title *Dharaṇi varāha*.[121] The *Pradhāni* remitted taxes and appointed governors of provinces. Perumaḷidēva Daṇṇāyaka Uḍaiyār, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Dēva Rāya II, remitted certain taxes on the lands in Āvali in Kalavaiparṟu for conducting certain festivals in a temple.[122] A record of Harihara II coming from Śankaranārāyaṇa in the South Canara district, records that Basavaṇṇa Uḍaiyār was governing the Bārakūru rājya under the orders of Mahāpradhāna Gopayya Daṇṇāyaka.[123] The *Mahāpradhāni* appears to have been assisted by an

117. V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 362.
118. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
120. 143 of 1915.
121. 186 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 146.
122. 497 of 1926.
123. 400 of 1927-28.

Upapradhāni in the administration of the vast Empire. One Sōmarasa, for instance, was the *Upapradhāni* when Sāḷuva Timma was the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[124] An inscription of Ś. 1450 (A.D. 1528-29) mentions one Vīra Narasimharāya Nāyaka, son of Taḷuvakkuḷaindān Bhaṭṭar as the *Ubhayapradhāni*.[125]

Section III

The Secretariat

A vast empire like that of Vijayanagar could not have been ruled simply by a king assisted by his Council. The dry details of administration must have been attended to by an efficient secretariat staff. The secretariat must have been divided into various departments, each in charge of a branch of the administration. The inscriptions of the period do not, however, enlighten us very much on this point; though we get occasional references to such departments as the military and the treasury, we are not able to know exactly the number of such departments or their relation to one another. 'Abdur Razzāk who saw the working of the secretariat at the imperial headquarters has a few words to say about it: "On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan (Vijayanagar Emperor) there is the dīwan kẖāna or minister's office, which is extremely large and presents the appearance of a *chihal situn* or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated."[126] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya also appears to have understood the value of a big secretariat for he says in his *Āmuktamālyada*: "When the work of a single (subordinate) officer is entrusted to a number of men and when each of them is assisted by his friends the business of the state may easily be accomplished. Their satisfaction (with the king) increases or decreases with the increase or decrease of their number. Nothing can be achieved without the willing cooperation of several officers; to keep them docile and obedient truthfulness and the absence of niggardliness and cruelty are helpful."[127]

124. 186 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 146; see also 689 of 1922 for another reference.

125. 233 of 1901; *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 184; *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 447.

126. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 107.

127. Canto IV, vv. 214-15.

An office called the *Rāyasam*, and its head along with its subordinate personnel are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. The term *Rāyasam*, which is a popular form of *vrāyasam*, means literally the profession of writing. There appears to have been an office of that name in Vijayanagar; and people who held that office generally prefixed its name to their personal names, and this in course of time was transformed into their surname. *Rāyasam* Koṇḍamarasayya and his son and grandson, Timmarasayya and Ayyaparasayya, respectively adopted in this manner the term *Rāyasam* as a family name. The Department to which they belonged was itself very probably known as *Rāyasam* and the officer called *Rāyasasvāmi*, mentioned in a Mysore inscription,[128] was apparently its head. It is not possible to fix definitely the position of the *Rāyasam* in the administrative machinery of the Empire. His Department was probably a secretariat attached to the person of the king. Persons belonging to it rose to high positions, and became ministers of state.[129] Nuniz, who refers to these *Rāyasams* as 'secretaries' gives an account of their duties. The Vijayanagar sovereigns never issued written orders to their governors or servants, nor did they make grants in writing. But they had their own 'secretaries' who recorded what the kings said and the favours they bestowed. Nuniz gives a clear description of how the orders of the kings were carried out: "When he (the king) confers a favour on any one it remains written in the registers of his secretaries. The king, however, gives the recipient of the favour a seal impressed in wax from one of his rings which the minister keeps and these seals serve for letters patent."[130] These 'secretaries' who always remained with the king and noted all that he said or did, resemble the *Tiruvāykēḷvis* of the Cōḷa inscriptions who had similar duties to discharge.[131] The evidence of epigraphy corroborates the prevalence of this practice in the Vijayanagar days. An inscription at Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot district registers that certain lands in the three banks out of twelve banks in the village (Tirukkōyilūr) were sold at a loss to the temple of Tiruviḍaikaḷināyaṉār by the tenants, owing to their inability to pay the taxes, and that when Immaḍi Narasā Nāyaka

128. *E.C.*, XII, p. 69.
129. 336 of 1915; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 230.
130. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 375.
131. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions of South India*, p. 253; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, ii, p. 235.

visited the temple on a *dvādaśi* day, he made the lands tax free, and ordered the profits thereon to be utilised for offerings and worship to the God on certain days every month. Immaḍi Narasayyadēva and Vīramarasayya Pallavarāyan are mentioned as the king's 'secretaries' to whom the above oral orders were given.[132]

Karaṇikkam. i.e., accountant, is another office which is frequently mentioned in the Vijayanagar inscriptions. There was scarcely an office or Department during the Vijayanagar times which was without its staff of *karaṇikkams*. Even the office of the king's harem had its *karaṇikkam*. Managarasayya, the *Vāśal karaṇikkam* of Immaḍi Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, is mentioned in a few inscriptions of the North Arcot district,[133] which indicate that the *Vāśal karaṇikkams* had some sort of connection with the provincial government, the nature of which, however, it is difficult to determine at present.

The king had a large number of officers in his establishment each of whom was assigned some work in the palace. The most important of them was the *Sarvanāyaka*. In a few inscriptions he was called *Maneyapradhāna* (House Minister).[134] He seems to have attended to the needs and comforts of the king's household and had control over the palace establishment.[134a] He had a large number of servants under him.[135] Among them were the *aḍappam*

132. 330 of 1921.

133. 84 of 1923; 52 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 52 in Vol V, pp. 1515-16.

134. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 59.

134a. It is interesting to note here that the same office of the *Sarvanāyaka* existed till recently in some Indian States, though the name of the officer had undergone some change.

135. These palace servants included men belonging to the domestic establishment of the palace, and also those who were there to maintain the dignity of the king. In the former group were those in charge of clothing, those who attended to lighting, gardeners: tailors; sweepers, and others: while the latter group consisted of the insignia bearers such as the bearer of the umbrella, bearer of the torch and those who carried the cobda sticks (batons of honour). There were also in that group persons who during processions carried the paraphernalia of the king, such as the standard and the *jayabhēri* (victory drum). There were a few who were in charge of the state horses and elephants. To this group also belonged the personal attendants of the king like the shoe-bearers and the holders of the insignia of *cauri* and *camaram*.—See *The Pudukkottai State Manual*, p. 446.

or *haḍapa* (betel-bearers)[136] *bhaṭa* (bards)[137] *pañcāngadavāru* (calender makers) *śasanācāryas* (persons in charge of inscriptions, obviously for engraving)[138] besides poets for composing inscriptions. Some families of poets are known for their compositions. Among them were those of Svayambhu, Sabhāpati and Diṇḍima of Mullāṇḍram.[139]

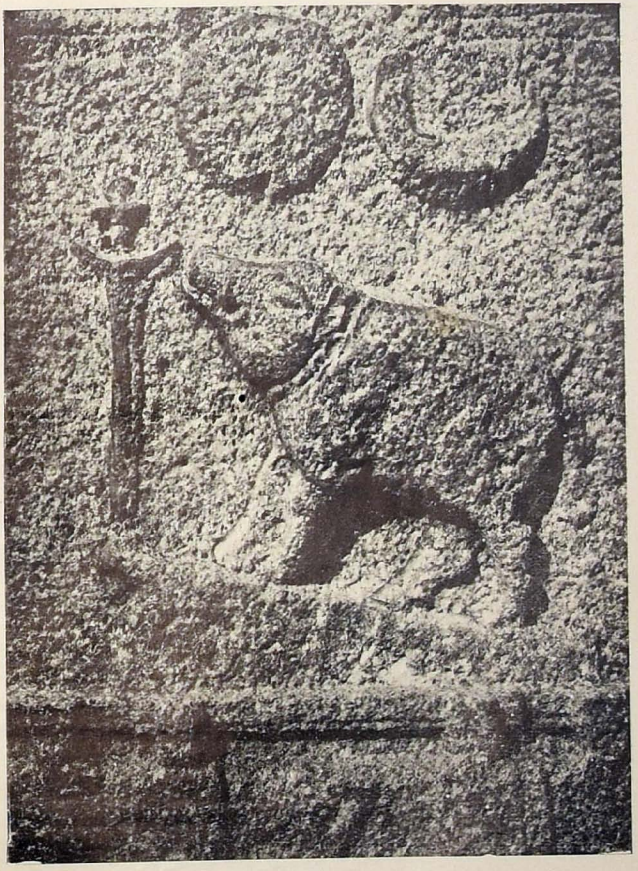
An officer called *Mugappāvāḍai* is mentioned in some inscriptions. Probably he was in charge of carpets, screens, and other equipment used in the court on ceremonial occasions and was something like the Master of the Court.[139a]

Another officer, the *Tirumandira Ōlaināyagam*, is referred to in one of the records of the Madura Nāyaks of the late sixteenth century.[140] He is otherwise unknown in Vijayanagar times. Probably the Madura Nāyaks, who regarded themselves as successors of the Pāṇḍyas, revived an old office which was in vogue during the age of the Pāṇḍya kings.

The officer in charge of the royal seal was a high dignitary in the state, and was necessarily one who was in the confidence of the king. He was known to epigraphy as the *Mudre* or *Mudra karta*.[141] There were two others, the *Ājñādhāraka* and the *Ājñāparipālaka*, officers executing the orders of the king.[142]

The *Vāśal* or *Vāśalkāriyam* was an officer of great dignity and importance; he appointed his men to guard the gates of the palace.[143] Persons seeking audience with the king or entrance into the palace had to obtain his permission.[144] Both Paes and Nuniz call him 'the chief of the guard."[145] In the battlefields he led a

136. See for instance *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 18.
137. *Ibid.*, III, Ml. 47, 42.
138. *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 86, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 126, *M.A.R.*, 1918 p. 56 etc.
139. *E.I.*, III, p. 237; *Adyar Library Bulletin;* Vol. V (1941); pp. 59-68.
139a. 357 of 1925; 38 of 1933-34.
140. 187 of 1895; *S.I.I.*, V. No. 751.
141. 1 of 1917; *E.C.*, IV, Yl. 45: *M.A.R.*, 1926, No. 24.
142. *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 145; *E.C.*, III, Tn. 55.
143. 182 of 1922; 33 of 1928-29.
144. Kampana Uḍaiyār, the conqueror of Madura was according to tradition a door keeper under the Hoysala kings (R. Satyanathier, *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 374). It is not known if the office was the same as the *Vāśal*.
145. Sewell, *op. cit.*, 263 and 326.



Boar crest of the Vijayanagar Kings on a pillar. Varadarajaperumal temple, Kanchipuram, Chingleput Dist.

part of the force. Kāma Nāyaka, the chief guard of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, for instance, led the advance in the Raicūr campaign of the king with thirty thousand infantry-archers, men with shields, musketeers and spearmen and a thousand horses and his six elephants.[146] This important office under the Hoysala and the Vijayanagar kings reminds us of the office of the *Dauvārika,* Commander of Palace Guards (?)[147], in ancient Hindu courts.

146. *Ibid.,* pp. 326 and 329.

147. Jayaswal translates the term, "Lord Mayor of the Palace" (See *Hindu Polity,* II edition, pp. 301-302). Dr. Basham derives the word from the term *Dvārapati* or *Dāreśa* of the Kashmir Chronicle, who was the officer in charge of defence of the frontiers. (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.* Vol. XXII, pt. I. p. 263.).

Chapter III

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

SECTION I

Sources of Revenue

"The revenue systems of the south while resembling those of the northern India in their broad outline present many distinctive features which alone would justify their independent treatment."[1]

Inscriptions form our main source for the study of the revenue system under the Vijayanagar kings. Almost every Vijayanagar inscription refers to some income from land, assignment of land, remission of the revenues, levy of fresh taxes, or the renewal of obsolete ones. One experiences some difficulty in the study of these inscriptions for they contain many technical terms, not easily explicable. Further several terms signify almost similar ideas and differ only in certain minute details. A few of the more important terms are *kaḍamai, magamai, kāṇikkai, kaṭṇam, kāṇam, vāram, bhogam, vari, pāṭṭam, iṟai, kaṭṭāyam,* etc. Another difficulty is that one and the same inscription mentions not only various dues or obligations from an individual or an institution to the government but also communal contributions for some specific social purposes, local cesses for meeting particular local expenses, and customary payments and services made to the overlord by the tenant for the lands he held of him. When these different dues and services to different bodies and persons are jumbled up in one inscription, it is very difficult to analyse them under different heads. To add to all this, since many of these were customary payments and as we often hear nothing more than their names, it is not easy to make out in many cases the exact nature of the contributions.

Besides the inscriptions of the period, there are the writings of foreign visitors to the Vijayanagar Empire containing accounts of the revenue administration under the Vijayanagar kings. Among

1. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue Systems*, p. 165.

such accounts the impressions of 'Abdur Razzāk, Nuniz, and Paes are important. Especially the chronicle of Nuniz is indispensable because it gives an account of the revenues in the Vijayanagar Empire, how they were collected through 'captains', and how far the revenue policy of the Vijayanagar rulers weighed heavily on the subjects. But one fact is worth noting here; that is, the foreign chroniclers, who did not know the real nature of village life, rural organisation and the dues from the villages contented themselves with making prominent mention of the transit duties and excise and other dues payable on the import and export of merchandise to and from a city. 'Abdur Razzāk, for instance, has nothing to say about land tax, but he was struck much by the customs and the taxes on the prostitutes. Hence they have not described all the sources of revenue of the State, the differentiation between imperial and local revenues and other questions connected with revenue administration.

It may be convenient to classify the sources of the revenues of Vijayanagar under certain broad heads:

1. Land tax
2. Tax on property
3. Commercial taxes
4. Profession taxes
5. Taxes on industries
6. Military contributions
7. Social and communal taxes
8. Judicial fines and such other income, and
9. Miscellaneous items of income.

1. *Land Tax*: The most important of the sources of revenue was the land tax which still continues to be the mainstay of Indian finance. This may be analysed under the following heads:

a) *Tax on wet crops*: All the wet crops were taxed by the government. In levying taxes on land certain factors were taken into consideration, such as the nature of the village and the tenure of land, the nature of the soil and the kind of crop raised on it. For instance, before the government levied tax on a particular piece of land, it considered whether it was a *dēvadāna* (land belonging to a temple), or a *brahmadēya* (land belonging to Brahmans), or was situated in a *daḷavāy agrahāra* (village granted for

military service), or was in a *karagrāma* (revenue village).[2] Distinction was made between *kārpāśānam* land and *puṉpayir* land, and taxes were collected on land according to the nature of the crops raised.[3] Even in the *kārpāśānam* lands, those that died in planting (*naṭṭupāḷ*) those that yielded only blighted grains (*śāvi*), and those that were otherwise damaged (*aḻivu*), were not counted.[4] In the taxable land a distinction was made between paddy fields, uncultivated waste (newly brought under cultivation), forests reclaimed, and *kaḍaippū* lands (lands on which only the last crop is raised) and lands irrigated by lifting water. The government also considered if they were wet lands on which were grown plantain and sugarcane, or were *paḍuṟgaitākkku* (banks of rivers) where these were grown, or marshes in which red lotuses were grown, or dry lands producing brinjals (*vaḻudilai*), pumpkins, turmeric, ginger, onions, garlic, *nelluparutti*, castor seeds *varaguparutti*, mustard, Bengal gram, wheat and *kuśumbai* (*carthamnus tinctorius*), *ērivāy*, *tāngalvāy* and *puḻudi*, (lands producing) gram (*kāṇam*), paddy and *śāmbalāḍi* and a large number of other crops.[5] Some differentiation was also made between wet crops raised on wet lands and wet crops raised on dry lands.[6]

b) *Tax on dry crops*: Similarly a tax on dry crops and edible vegetables (*maḻabraya*) was also levied.[6a] Here too distinction was made between dry crops raised on dry lands and dry crops raised on wet lands (*nañjai*).[7] Further difference was made between the various crops raised on dry lands. Of the *puṉpayir* (dry crops), *pāḷ*, *śāvi*, and *aḻivu* were not counted as in the case of wet crops. Areca palm (*kamuku*), cocoanuts, jack trees,[8] *karṇu*, *vaippu* (margosa), *koḻundu*, *vāḻai* (plantain trees), *karumbu* (sugar-cane), *mañjaḷ* (turmeric), *iñji* (ginger), *śenkaḻunīr* (flower) and other *vāṉpayir* (minor cultivation) were also taxed.[9] According to one record[9a] a tax called *tōṭṭapuṟavu* (tax from gar-

2. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 6.
3. 54 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
4. *Ibid.*, para 44, fn. 1.
5. *Ibid.*, para 44.
6. 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.
6a. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79. See Wilson, *Glossary*, *s.v. Mala.*
7. 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.
8. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44 and fn.
9. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 139.
9a. Ś. 1311. At Tiruvaṇṇainallūr in the Tanjore District.

den lands) also seems to have been collected from the people.[10] These lists clearly show how, for purposes of assessment, the government carefully noted the nature of the crops and the land on which they were raised.

c. *Allied Charges:* We may include in this list certain other sources of revenue in the nature of allied charges on the owners of land. There seem to have been set apart some land near the village for the cattle to graze, and a few inscriptions refer to a tax levied on shepherds as grazing fee.[11]

Another tax, *vāśal paṇam*[12] was levied on houses and house sites (*maṇai*).[13] It was assessed on the basis whether the house was a roofed one,[14] or *aḍaipputtāḷvu* (with small door ways?),[15] or was a storeyed one or was one with inside veranda.[16]

d. Besides these a few contributions were collected from the people towards the cost of payment and maintenance of village officers and special messengers coming from governmental headquarters. Among such collections were the *karaṇikka jōḍi*,[17] *talaiyārikkam*,[18] *nāṭṭu kaṇakkuvari*, *rāyasavarttaṇai*, *avasaravarttaṇai*,[19] *adhikāravarttaṇai*, *nōṭṭavarttaṇai*,[20] *nirūpaccambaḷam*[21] (pay of the *nirūpa* or the royal order carrier *āḷukkunīrpāṭṭam*[22] (a tax for maintaining the person appointed for regulating the supply of water to fields), and *pāḍikāval*[23] (police duty or fee for maintaining police).

(e) In ancient and medieval times the temples, choultries and other public institutions collected from the people some money for their maintenance and upkeep. Under this head may be grouped the

10. 510 of 1921; Rep., para 43.
11. 319 of 1921; *M.E.R.*, 1913, *Rep.*, para 56; *E.C.*, IV. Gp. 1.
12. 324 of 1911; *Rep.*, para 49. It appears that it was levied only on houses with a compound.
13. 203 of 1921; *Rep.*, para 41.
14. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2.
15. *E.I.*, VIII; p. 304.
16. 585 of 1919.
17. 73 of 1888; *S.I.I.*, II, No. 23.
18. 55 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 4.
19. *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 139; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
20. 103 of 1918.
21. 510 of 1921; *S.I.I.*, II; No. 23.
22. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 112.
23. *I.P.S.*, 681; 244 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 40.

following taxes: *magamai*[24] (contribution formerly levied on merchants and cultivators for a temple now given optionally), *piḍāri-vari*[25] (contribution to the temple of the village goddess), *vībhūti kāṇikkai*[26] *āḍi paccai* and *kārttigai kāṇikkai*[28] and the *tiruppudi-yīḍu*[29] (holy first fruits) and *prasāda kāṇikkai*.[30]

These taxes were collected by the local authorities on behalf of the imperial government and paid to the temples concerned; or in a few cases the temples and other institutions took these contributions directly from the people.

Method of Assessment

A careful study of the inscriptions of the period shows that it was the policy of the Vijayanagar kings to base assessment on the fertility and regional location of the land. Thus the rate of revenue varied in the different parts of the Empire; and in the same region too, it would change with the fertility of the soil. But it was clear, however, that all assessment was on the basis of the gross yield. This is indicated by a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1673-74 which states that a *magamai* tax was levied at the rate of one *nāḷi* on every *kalam* of produce.[31] From an inscription at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai[31a] we learn that the government took five-tenths share of the produce from wet and dry lands which were the *devadānam tirunāmattukkāṇi* from Uḍaiyā Tirukkaṭṭaḷai-Īśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṇār.[32] Thus one of the factors in fixing the assessment on land was the yield from land.[33] But this does not seem to have been either universal in the Empire or applicable to all cases of wet and dry crops.

24. *M.A.R.*, 1916, para 96.
25. 17 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 71.
26. 389 of 1911; *E.C.*, X, Bp. 18.
27. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
28. 294 of 1910.
29. 35 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 55.
30. 118 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 72.
31. Cp. 7 of 1923-4.
32. *I.P.S.*, 711. A valuable inscription at Paḷankaraḷ, also in the Pudukkōṭṭai area, registers an order issued by Śūraiyadēvar *alias* Kulaśēkhara.
33. Similarly the government demanded tax only on the quantity of merchandise actually sold. For instance 'Abdur Razzāk observes: "The officers of the customs department levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part *when a sale is effected;* if they are not sold they make no charge on them whatsoever". (Italics mine.).

Another basis of assessment on wet land was the sowing capacity of a unit of land used for wet crops. The inscriptions refer to certain measures, namely *kōḷagas* and *puṭṭis* which mean that the sowing capacity of a piece of land was so many *koḷagas* or *puṭṭis* of some seed. We are told for instance that tax on a *tūm* (a cubic measure in the Telugu districts) of land was 8 *varāhas*. This means in fact that the unit of land requiring a *tūm* of seed to be sown was assessed at eight *varāhas*.[34]

While this was the principle of assessment of wet lands, dry lands were assessed on the basis of the number of ploughs required for tilling. The area coming under a single plough was reckoned as one unit. An inscription coming from Āḍuturai[34a] records the fixing of a graded rate of assessment on each plough of dry land.[35] But the principle followed for assessment of wet lands was at times followed for dry lands as well. An inscription from the Kolar taluk in the district of the same name mentions a *khaṇḍuga* of dry land;[36] it means that the said land had the sowing capacity of a *khaṇḍuga*.

According to a tradition incorporated in Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore, South Canara and Coorg* Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya ordered a survey of his Empire for purposes of assessment and fixed the rates of taxes; and this tradition is confirmed by an inscription of the period of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya himself. A record dated A.D. 1513 in the Mysore district registers the grant of a village with all the wet and dry lands according to former measurement.[37] From this inscription it appears that there were two measurements in the district, and perhaps in the Empire too. One was the old measurement according to which this particular grant was made, and the other was the new, also prevalent perhaps, on the date of this inscription. This piece of evidence clearly shows that for purposes of assessment lands were systematically surveyed in the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. Rice too, after studying the Mackenzie Manuscripts, came to this conclusion. He observes: "It appears that in the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and Acyutadēva Rāya the

34. 21 of 1927-28.

35. 36 of 1913.

36. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 39. See Narasinga Rao, Ullal, A *Kisamwar Glossary*, pp. 164-65, for the different meanings of the term; also Saletore, *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, II, p. 442.

37. III, Nj. 195.

revenues of the Vijayanagar State were first reduced to a regular form checked by ordinances, and a system of accounts and management introduced, calculated to improve the revenue of the empire gradually in yearly amount without distressing the inhabitants."[38]

Owing to local variations there could be no uniform measurement of land throughout the Empire. The inscriptions of the period mention a large number of measuring rods.[39] Even in the same place two rods seem to have been used almost at the same time. For instance, from the inscriptions at Tiruppukkuḻi[39a] we learn that there were two rods in use, one the *nāḍaḷavukōl* in A.D. 1365[40] and the other *rājavibhāḍaṇkōl* in A.D. 1374 and 1438-39.[41] At Tiruppālaivaṇam[41a] we learn that there was in 1390 a measuring rod which was known as the *gaṇḍarāyagaṇḍaṇkōl*.[42] The Vijayanagar government, however, tried to introduce some reform in the existing measuring rods with a view to effecting uniformity and overcoming difficulties in assessment. According

38. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, j. 578.

39. Some of the more important of such rods were the *nāḍaḷavukōl* (18 of 1899; A.D. 1365) at Tiruppukuḻi in the Chingleput district; *rājavibhāḍaṇ kōl* (107 of 1923; A.D. 1374; 193 of 1916; A.D. 1438-39) at Tiruppukkuḻi and Mēlottivākkam in the same district; the *paṇiraṇḍaḍi kōl*, the pole twelve feet long, (*I.P.S.*, 685; A.D. 1388) in the Tirumayyam taluk in the Pudukkōṭṭai area; *Gaṇḍarāyagaṇḍaṇ kōl* (357 of 1928-29; A.D. 1390) in and near Tiruppālaivanam in the Chingleput district; *māṇḍyas* (*Nel. Ins.*, Cp. 1; A.D. 1390-91) at Paracūr in the Nellore district; the *padināṟaḍi kōl*, the pole sixteen feet long (*I.P.S.*, 687; A.D. 1391-92) at Kuṇṇāṇḍārkōyil in the Pudukkōṭṭai area; the *Rājavibhāḍaṇ ālapadiṇeṭṭaḍi kōl* (255 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V. No. 554; A.D. 1429) at Tiruvaiyāṟu in the Tanjore district; the *uñjalpārai śarivutaḍi* (583 of 1893) in and about Koḻuñjuvāḍi in the Coimbatore district; the measuring rod of 30 and 20 feet (174 of 1916) in the South Arcot district; *gaṇḍaragaṇḍaṇ kōl* (212 of 1916) at Tiruppukkuḻi in the Chingleput district; *mūvāyiravaṇ kōl*, about 15 feet in length (249 of 1928-29; 15th century) in the South Arcot district; *taḍi* (*I.P.S.*, 715; A.D. 1477) marked by a sign used in and around Kāraiyūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai area; the standard rod of 34 feet in the South Arcot district (237 of 1916; A.D. 1504); a pole 32 feet long (*Nel. Ins.*, Cp. 16; A.D. 1515) used in the Nellore district; a pole measuring 24 feet (51 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 50 in V, p. 54; A.D. 1535).

39a. In the Chingleput District.

40. 18 of 1899; *S.I.I.*, VI. No. 454.

41. 107 of 1923; 193 of 1916.

41a. In the Chingleput District.

42. 357 of 1928-29.

to an inscription[42a] the residents near Vṛddhācalam at one time even went to the extent of migrating from the place when the government did not introduce a change in the measuring rod of the locality. This lithic record registers an order of a Vāsudēva Nāyakkar Tirumalai Nāyakkar to the people of Magada maṇḍalam fixing the length of the rod for measuring wet and dry lands. Up to 1447, the date of the inscription, "lands in Magada maṇḍalam were measured by a rod 18 feet in length and assessed. This procedure having affected *rājagaram* and given room for theft and ruin, it was thought that if two feet more were added to the old measuring rod, the tax would become easy of payment and the cultivators would be in a flourishing condition and be able to answer for the *rājagaram*. On this representation it was ordered that the length of the measuring rod should thereafter be fixed at 20 feet, by increasing the length of the old rod by two feet; that the lands, both wet and dry should be measured out again by the new rod; and the changes entailed noted in the account books."[43] But at Śrīmuṣṇam[43a] a "standard rod" measuring 34 feet was used about 1504-05.[44] The absence of a general uniform rod for the whole Empire caused great difficulty for the government in fixing a uniform rate of assessment on land all over the Empire.

Rates of Assessment

The traditional share of the state in the produce from a unit of land was one-sixth, of the Brahman one-twentieth and of the temple one-thirtieth, each payable in kind or equivalent cash. Of the remaining three-quarters, one was retained by the cultivator for his share, while the balance went towards the expenses of cultivation. Discussing this question Wilks remarks that in the early days of the Vijayanagar dynasty Harihara's minister, Vidyāraṇya, published for the use of the officers of state, a manual founded on the text of Parāśara with a copious commentary dealing elaborately with the assessment of land and conversion of grain revenue into money. Briefly, he took the Śāstra rate of one-sixth of the crop as the government share, and assuming that the average out-turn was twelve times the seed sown, he distri-

42a. At Kugaiyūr in the South Arcot District.
43. 97 of 1918; *Rep.*, 1918, para 69.
43a. In the South Arcot District.
44. 247 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 64.

buted 30 *kuṭṭis* of paddy (the produce from 2½ *kuṭṭis* of land) as follows:

To the lord ¼		7½
To the cultivator ½		15
To Sarkar ⅙		5
To temples 1/30		1
To Brahmans 1/20		1½
	Total	30 *kuṭṭis*

The shares of the temples and the Brahmans were collected by the Sarkar and paid over by it, so that the revenue payable by the landholder was really ¼ of the gross produce.[45] Subsequently Harihara introduced a few changes in the system owing to the difficulties experienced in adhering to these recommendations. He abolished the system of payment of the government share in kind, and insisted on cash payment at a particular rate. This conversion was "founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase and the value of grain."[46] In addition, Harihara increased the rate of assessment also. Thus he "had recourse to the law of the Śāstras which authorised him by no very forced construction to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes which should compel him to seek relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of their landed assessment."[47] In this way he actually raised it by twenty per cent by his skill in applying to his calculations, a procedure which has been characterised by the Bombay High Court as "a thinly veiled violation of the law."[48]

But we have to examine here how far the account of Wilks is corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions. They are the only source of reliable information on this question of the rate of assessment in the Vijayanagar period. The *Parāśaramādhavīya*, being an elaborate commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, deals more with the theoretical than with the practical side of taxation.

45. See *Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I, p. 95; *South Canara Manual*, pp. 94-96.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

48. See *South Canara Land Assessment Case*, p. 84; quoted in the *South Canara Manual*, p. 96.

Burnell is of opinion that the share of the state in the produce of land in South India was generally one-half though the normal share of the state in North India was one-sixth. He says: "There is ample evidence to show that Manu's proportion of one-sixth was never observed, and that the land tax taken not only by the Muhammadan but the Hindu sovereigns also was fully one-half of the gross produce".[49] Hayavadana Rao after a study of the relevant data concludes that the assessment in the Vijayanagar days was very high: "It seems.....that Vijayanagar taxation was about seven times that of the British, or about 42 per cent, an estimate that agrees with the inference that the later Vijayanagar kings quite disregarded Madhava's injunction of ¼ of the gross produce paid in cash and had in practice 50 per cent of it".[50] Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar inclines to accept the view of Burnell.[51] The views of Ellis are marked by greater caution; he is content with pointing out that the tax was always more than the sixth or fourth permitted by the Sanskrit lawyers.[52]

As for the total income of the state, Rice estimates it at 81 crores of *Avakōṭi cakras* or *pagodas*,[53] after a study of the manuscripts collected by Colonel Mackenzie. The *Carnātaka Rājākkal Savistāra Caritram* or *A General History of the Indian Peninsula* states that during the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya the amount of revenue payable to the imperial treasury by eastern Carnataka (as distinguished from Mysore, etc.) was three crores of rupees.[54] Varthema says: "This king of Narasinga is the richest king I have heard spoken of"; elsewhere he says: "His Brahmins, that is, his priests, say that he possesses a revenue of 12,000 *pardai* per day."[55] Paes who visited Vijayanagar in 1520 says that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya after retaining enough for his expenses and the expenses of the houses of his 12,000 wives put in his treasury every year ten million *pardaos*.[56] Nuniz is of opinion that the feudatory nobles in the Vijayanagar Empire paid to the king every year sixty lakhs of

49. *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 112, *fn.* 3.
50. *Ind. Ant.*, XL, pp. 271-72.
51. *Report on Forty Years of Progress in British India*, p. 10.
52. F. W. Ellis, *Replies to Seventeen Questions*, p. 4; A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India* (1000-1500 A.D.), II, p. 674.
53. *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 578, *fn.* 1.
54. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 39.
55. Jones, *Varthema*, p. 129.
56. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

pardaos as royal dues, which was half of the gross income from the lands under the feudatories (120 lakhs or 12 millions of *pardaos*).[57] According to the *Burhān-i-M'sir* the revenue of "the accursed infidel" Sadāśiva Rāya was 120,000,000 *hūns*.[58] Even about A.D. 1611 Vijayanagar claimed good revenues. Anotine Vico, for instance, says: "The great Nayaks of Madura and those of Tanjore and Ginji are themselves tributaries of Bisnagar, to whom they pay or have to pay an annual tribute of six to ten million *francs*."[59] Besides, the royal demesne yielded some revenue to the kings.

Contemporary inscriptions do not, however, throw much light on the question of the rate of assessment in the period. Though some of them specify the amount of the revenue realised from land, others merely indicate that taxes were collected both in kind and cash. However, the following available details may be noted.[60]

A valuable inscription of A.D. 1329-30[60a] registers the decision that the residents of Parāntakanāḍu, the *Valangai* 98 sects and the *Iḍangai* 98 sects regarding the various items of taxes to be paid to government (*rājagaram iṟaimuṟaimai*) or to the temple, as had been already settled by the inhabitants of the other *nāḍus* of Vaḷudalambaṭṭu uśāvaḍi.....It was decided that some specified lands in the district of Parāntakanāḍu which were rent-free were not to be interfered with, by classifying them as *paṇḍāravāḍai* (lands belonging to the state-crown lands) *jīvita parru*, (service tenure lands), *aḍaippu* (lands held in lease), *otti* (usufructuary

57. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

58. *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 143.

59. R. Satyanathier, *The Nayaka of Madura*, p. 293.

60. According to a damaged epigraph of the cyclic year Dundhubhi, the exact date of which we are not able to know, it was agreed that the cultivators of lands below the tanks in the Koḍagattūr country were to give *śarivāram* (i.e., equal share of the produce to the owner) and pay a specified fee for strengthening the tank bunds with stones and earth (197 of 1910). But this refers to the rent payable by the tenant to the landlord, and hence though we take the inscription to belong to the Vijayanagar period it is not of great value in determining the rate of taxes collected by the state. Similarly in A.D. 1555-56 one Avula Rāya was allowed to enjoy two-thirds of the produce from certain lands, and was required to give the remaining lands at Ālamūṟu (66 of 1915). Here too the reference is to the rent from land and the epigraph has no reference to taxes.

60a. Found at Tiruvaigāvūr in the Tanjore District.

mortgage), *guttagai* (contract of lease), and *śērvai* (service *inam* lands)". The rates of assessment were also fixed.[61]

61. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44. Though other taxes such as those on houses, professionals and workshops are mentioned here, we have confined ourselves to an examination of the rates of taxes on land alone, and reserved the other taxes for treatment in a later section.

	Class of land	Assessment in paddy on one *vēli* including *araśupēṟu*, *ilakkai*, etc.	Other taxes such as *kāṇikkai*, *śammādam*, *paṭṭavaṭṭam*, *kāṇikūli*, etc., on each *vēli*.
		A	
1.	Paddy fields	50 *kalams* of paddy and ¼ *paṇam*.	20 *paṇams*
2.	Uncultivated waste (just brought under cultivation)	40 *kalams* of paddy	18 „
3.	Forest reclaimed.	20 „	2 „
4.	*Kaḍaippū* lands and lands irrigated by baling water.	20 „	10 „
		B	
5.	Plantain and sugar cane gardens in wet lands.	...	60 *paṇams* (including *araśupēṟu*, *kāṇikkai*, etc.)
6.	Plantain and sugar cane gardens in *paḍugaittākku* (embankments)	...	50 *paṇams*
7.	Marshes in which redlotuses are grown	...	40 „
8.	Lands producing turmeric, ginger, onions, garlic, etc.	...	25 „
9.	Lands producing brinjals (*vaḷudilai*)	...	30 „
10.	Lands producing *nellupa-rutti*, castor seeds, *varagu-parutti*, *mustard*, Bengal gram and *kuśumbai* (*carthamus tinctorious*), *ēṟivāy*, *tāngalavāy* and *puḷudi*, lands producing gram (*kāṇam*), lands producing paddy and *śāmbalādi*	...	20 *paṇams* (including *araśupēṟu* and *nirōlai*, etc.)
11.	Lands producing gram, green pulse, *taṇiparutti*, *taṇi āmaṇakku*, *tiṇai*, *taṇivaragu*, *śāmai*, etc.	...	1 *paṇam*.

Another record dated A.D. 1430-31 gives the rates of taxes in grain and money to be levied from the Kaikkōḷar, Tantirimār and others in certain villages.[62]

Class of land	Assessment in paddy on one *vēli* including *araśupēṟu*, *ilakkai*, etc.	Other taxes such as *kāṇikkai*, *śammādam*, *paṭṭavaṭṭam*, *kāṇikūḷi*, etc., on each *vēli*.
12. Lands producing sesamum (taxed for first crop).	...	¾ *paṇam*.
13. Lands yielding *vēdikoḷundu*.	...	200 *paṇams*
14. Lands yielding *oḷimuḍukoḷundu* (taxed for the first crop)	...	100 „
C		
Dry crops (*Vāṉpayiru*)		
1. Every five areca palms yielding about 1500 nuts per tree	...	1 *paṇam* (including *araśupēṟu*).
2. Every cocoanut palm yielding not less than 40 fruits per tree	...	½ *paṇam*.
N.B. Tender trees which have not borne fruit, barren trees and trees in the backyards of houses are exempted		
3. Every jack tree yielding not less than 20 fruits per tree.	...	Lost
N.B. The surrounding (i.e., other) trees are not taxed.		

Of the *kārpāśanam* (i.e. wet) lands, those that died in the planting (*nāṭṭupāḷ*), those that yielded only blighted grain (*śāvi*) and those that were otherwise damaged (*aḻivu*) were not counted, and of the *puṉpayir* (i.e. dry lands) *pāḷ*, *śāvi* and *aḻivu* were likewise not counted and the remaining holdings were charged at the reduced rate of 8½ to 10, it being, however, provided that in the excluded lands where on inspection they were found to have yielded ¼ crop a third of the produce would be charged as *vāram* from each holder.

62.

Land	Assessment
1. On wet land on which dry crops were cultivated, and dry land on which wet crops were raised, including the cultivation of plantains and sugarcane.	One *kalam* of paddy on each *mā*.

About A.D. 1433 at Tirumalai[62a] the *Rājabhaṇḍāram* took two hundred *paṇams* for its half share, and the *Śrībhaṇḍāram* took the other half of the income in the *Tiruviḍaiyāttam* village of Śittakkuṭṭai.[63] A record of about A.D. 1450 at Āḍuturai[63a] registers the regulation of the taxes at 5 *paṇams* for the first year and 10 from the following year on each plough of dry land, and 8 *paṇams* on every 100 *kuḻis* of wet land.[64]

In this connection two inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai area are invaluable. One found at Tirukkaṭṭalai and dated in A.D. 1462 states that the tax on the *dēvadānam* lands to the provincial chief was 'five-tenths' of the produce.[65] The other one found at Paḷaṅkaṟai and dated in A.D. 1481 records a grant of land and tanks to a hermit (*tapasvi*) as *kuḍiṅīṅgādēvadānam* and fixes the rates of assessment.[66]

An inscription at Śrīmuṣṇam dated in 1504-05 records the fixing of a fresh rate of assessment, for the taxes had become exhorbitant when the country was in the hands of the Kannaḍiyas. According to the revision it was ordered that the lands might be measured year after year with the standard rod of 34 feet, and that 15 *paṇams*

2.	For dry crops raised on wet lands.	Two *tūṇi* of grain on each *mā*.
3.	„ „ on dry lands.	One *tūṇi* and one *padakku* on each *mā*.

(91 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68).

62a. In the Chittore district.

63. *T.T.D.I.*, No. 201. As the inscription refers to the *śrotri-kuttagai* of the village of Śittakuṭṭai otherwise known as Śrinivāsagrāmam for money payments it appears to be a division of the *kaḍamai* tax and not of the produce. If it had been the latter, there could not have been any reference to the money payment; nor is it reasonable to assume that there was a division of not only the money income but also the grain produce.

63a. In the Tiruchirapalli District.

64. 36 of 1913.

65. *I.P.S.*, 711.

66. ⅛ of the produce for *kuṟuvai* during winter;
¼ for sesamum (*eḷḷu*) and *rāgi* (*kēḻvaragu*);
⅙ for millet (*varagu*), *śāmai*, *kambu* and other crops cultivated in dry land.
¼ for sesamum, horse-gram, *payaṟu*, etc.
[*Ibid.*, 819; No. 117 of 1897 (*S.I.I.*, VI, No. 71) mentions *parittivari* (tax on cotton), but not the rate.]

(including all items of taxation) be levied on one *mā* of dry land and 20 *paṇams* on one *mā* of wet land and that towards *araśupēṟu* ⅛ *paṇam* be levied on each tenant.[67]

A record[67a] dated in A.D. 1550-51 registers the fixing of the rate of taxes by Viśvanātha Nāyakkar, the agent of Rāma Rāja Viṭṭaladēva Mahā Rāja, who remitted all taxes including *uḷavu* and *paṇḍāravāḍai*, since the *dēvadāna* and the *brahmadeya* lands in a number of villages surrounding Śēravaṉmādēvi had been abandoned by the dispensing *kuḍi* and the *paḍais*. According to the new rate only *kāṇi* was charged per *mā* of land.[68]

The above list gives us an idea of the rates of taxes on landed property in the Vijayanagar period. There are also a few inscriptions which mention the total revenue of the state from a particular village or a group of villages. But since such a consolidated amount indicates a variety of sources of revenue in which the tax on land was only one, it is difficult to fix from it the rate of assessment on land per village.

A lithic inscription of A.D. 1400[68a] states that the Halamuttūr village in the Sāntaḷige nāḍ together with its hamlets (named) and plains was rated at 84 *hoṉs* and 1¾ *haṇas*.[69] Another inscription records that the total revenue from five villages in the Āragaventhe was 210 (?).[70] A lithic record at Cidambaram of the time of Acyuta Rāya states that the income from four villages near Cidambaram was 500 *poṉs*.[71] But such information is not enough to enable us to calculate the total revenue of the state. Rice's estimate that it amounted to 81 crores of *Avakōṭi cakras* or *nagodas* is based on the authority of some old manuscripts of doubtful accuracy. Probably it is an exaggerated figure, for it is really difficult to believe that the region south of the river Kṛṣṇā could have contributed so much by way of taxes during those days.

2. *Property Tax*: In ancient and medieval India, as in modern India, all property both immovable and movable was taxed.

67. 247 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 64.
67a. At Sēramādēvi in the Tirunelveli District.
68. 721 of 1916.
68a. From a village in the Kadur District in Mysore.
69. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 35.
70. *Ibid.*, VII, Sh. 84 (Shimoga Taluk, Shimoga District).
71. 272 of 1913.

But in estimating the rates of taxes on property we are at a disadvantage for two reasons. First there are only a few inscriptions giving an idea about them, and secondly even those few are found scattered in different parts of the Empire. Thus it is not known, for instance, if the rate is the same, say, for two houses of the same type in different parts of the Empire.[72]

There are other inscriptions mentioning the property tax without the rates of assessment. Among them were the taxes on *aḍapputtāḷvu* (small doorways?),[73] hidden treasure, underground stores, etc.,[74] *ūttaipāṭṭam* (springs),[75] houses of priests and other sacred buildings,[76] *vāśalpaṇam, maṇaikuḷi*,[77] she and he-buffaloes, horses, bullocks etc.,[78] sheep,[79] carts, and cocoanut trees.[80] Unoccupied houses were exempted from taxes.[81]

72. The following rates may be noted:—
Storied house .. 2 *paṇams.*
House with inside verandah .. 1 *paṇam.*
(Little Conjeevaram, Chingleput District, 589 of 1919).
House of villager (*nāṭṭār*), (including *vilai, āśamdi, vāśalpaṇam*, etc.). .. 3 *paṇams.*
House of a *Tantirimār* .. 1½ *paṇams.*
House of a *makkaḷ* .. 1½ *paṇams.*
Varandahs with sloping roofs .. ¾ *paṇam.*
(Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore District; 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44).
House of a Vaiśya .. 1 *paṇam.*
(Bangalore, *E.C.*, IV, B. 96).
House *koṭṭil* of the *veṭṭis* .. ⅛ *paṇam.*
(Vṛddhāchalam, South Arcot District, 91 of 1918; *Rep.*, 1918; para 68).
Each *vāśal* .. 1 *paṇam.*
(Tirukōyilūr, South Arcot District; 335 of 1921).
Outhouse .. 1 *gadyāṇa.*
(Yelandūr, Mysore District; *E.C.*, IV, XV, 62).
House site .. 1 *paṇam.*
(Śērkāḍ, North Arcot District; 203 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1923, para 41).
Cow .. ½ *gadyāṇa.*
(C. nagar, Mysore District; *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 97).
73. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.
74. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 241.
75. 373 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 47.
76. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 94.
77. 89 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 318; 335 of 1921.
78. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 30.
79. *Ibid.*, XI, Jl. 2.
80. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79; *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 30.
81. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.

An inscription from Śravaṇa Belgola of the time of Bukka I records:

"Tātayya Tirumala by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom, will, out of the money levied at the rate of one *haṇa* a year of every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom for the body-guard to be appointed by the Vaiṣṇavas at the holy place Bellgula appoint twenty servants as a bodyguard for the God, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated *Jinālayas* (or Jina temples) whitewashed."[82]

3. *Commercial Taxes*: Duties on trade and commercial transactions contributed a large share to the state revenues. Customs and control duties were levied both on land and water transports at fixed rates. Further, the opening of new fairs brought revenue to the government.

Rice divides the customs dues under three different heads: *sthalādāyam, mārgādāyam* and *māmūlādāyam*. Under the first head came the customs on goods imported to be sold at one place; under the second came the duty levied on goods in transit through a district; and under the third came the duty levied on goods exported to foreign countries. "All kinds of goods even firewood and straw paid these duties excepting glass rings, brass pots, and soap ball".[83] Taxes were levied on shops,[84] *vilaikāṇam* on sales,[85] *viṛpaṇam* and *kaivilaikāṇam* (share of sales for cash price?),[86] duties on piecegoods, animals, grain[87] and baskets of eggs.[88] There were transit dues on loads of betel,[89] dues on loads, oil and *māsti*.[90] There were also *aḍikāśu* (tax on stalls in markets),[91] *śandaimudal* (market fees),[92] tax collected on the sale of branded cattle,[93]

82. In Mysore State; *E.C.*, II, Sb. 344.
83. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 583.
84. *M.A.R.*, 1926, No. 120.
85. 203 of 1921; *Rep.*, para 41; 87 of 1889.
86. 28 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 351.
87. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75.
88. *Ibid.*, III, Ml. 95.
89. *Ibid.*, VII, Sh. 30.
90. *Ibid.*, X, Ct. 40.
91. 196 of 1910.
92. 324 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 49.
93. *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71.

women's cloth and other beautiful articles,[94] tolls on *kāvaḍis*, pack horses, bullocks, asses, and head-loads,[95] water-sheds, market towns, and on all articles at different rates going through roads to towns of pilgrimage,[96] *pāśivilai* (tax on the sale price of fish),[97] *aḍḍagada śuṅkam* (tax leived on the sellers of sheep)[98] and the *mūla viśābadi*.[99] An inscription of the time of Acyuta Rāya at Rūpanaguḍi[100] mentions that tolls were collected on the grains passing either way through Rūpalaguḍya thāṇya in Yalapēya śīme.[101] In the Telugu country about A.D. 1520 customs were collected in *vasanta garuvus* (rest houses), watersheds, salt beds, market towns and roads frequented by people.[102]

94. Butterworth and V. Venugopaul Chetty, *Nel. Ins.*, Gj. 132.
95. 18 of 1915; 704 of 1919.
96. 242 of 1892; *E.I.*, VI, p. 232.
97. 121 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 410; 373 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917; para 47.
98. See *Nel. Ins.*, on p. 947 and note.
99. A tax on the profits of trade levied in periodically settled proportions upon the merchants, traders, shop-keepers, retail mercantile agents and all the inhabitants of a village or town engaged in trade. (Wilson, *Indian Glossary*, p. 549). An inscription at Tirukkaḷukuṉram (Chingleput District) mentions duties collected on some articles of merchandise at Cadiravācakaṉpaṭṭiṇam such as *muttupārvai, puḍavai pārvai*, etc. The cesses are specified in some cases, *viz.*, 1/10 per cent on the sales of cloth, 3/20 per cent on the sales of oil etc., and 8/20 *paṇam* on each *puḍavaikkaṭṭū* sold. (173 of 1932-33 dated in *A.D.* 1376).
100. In the Bellary District.
101. 223 of 1913.
102. *E.I.*, VI, p. 232.

An inscription of A.D. 1379 mentions the following rates of taxes levied on towns and shops:

Old town, one *ga;* Small town, five *mā;* Village, three *mā;*

A shop at a festival, one *mā*. (*E.C.*, XII, Si. 76; *ga* seems to stand for *gadyāṇa* and *mā* for *māṇa*).

A few inscriptions give the rates of taxes levied on commodities. One such, the Koṇḍavīḍu inscription of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, gives the following details:

No.	Article	Unit taxed	Rate
1.	Great millet	per bag	½ *paikam*
2.	Millet	"	"
3.	Salt	"	"
4.	Mangoes	"	"
5.	Myrobalan	"	"
6.	Fruits	"	"
7.	Brinjals	"	"
8.	Clearing nuts	"	"

Multiple taxes were levied on articles of trade and on commercial transactions. The gross income from such duties on articles coming into and going out of the various important places in the Empire was enormous. According to Nuniz the city of Nāgalāpura alone yielded forty-two thousand *pardaos* of duties for the things which entered into it. He says: "The duties in this

9.	*Māvine* (a fragrant root like Sarasaparilla)	.. per bag	½ *paikam*
10.	Green gram	.. „	1 *paikam*
11.	Black gram	.. „	„
12.	Bengal gram	.. „	„
13.	Horse gram	.. „	„
14.	Red gram	.. „	„
15.	Wheat	.. „	„
16.	Sesamum seeds	.. „	„
17.	Oil seeds	.. „	„
18.	Black pulse	.. „	„
19.	*Anumula*	.. „	„
20.	Cotton	.. „	„
21.	Tamarind	.. „	„
22.	Gall nuts	.. „	„
23.	Myrobalan seeds	.. „	„
24.	Yarn	.. „	„
25.	*Cāma*	.. „	„
26.	*Cirugadam* (root)	.. „	1 *damma*
27.	Onions	.. „	„
28.	Turmeric	.. „	„
29.	Dammer	.. „	„
30.	Fenugreek	.. „	„
31.	Cumin	.. „	„
32.	Mustard	.. „	„
33.	New Gunny bag	.. per śalage	„
34.	Green ginger	.. per bag	„
35.	Lime fruit	.. „	„
36.	Cocoanuts	.. „	„
37.	Jaggery	.. „	2 *dammas*
38.	Cleaned cotton	.. „	„
39.	Ghee	.. „	„
40.	Castor oil	.. „	„
41.	Sangadi nuts	.. „	„
42.	Dry ginger	.. „	„
43.	Iron	.. „	„
44.	Steel	.. „	„
45.	Chisels	.. „	„
46.	Sugar	.. „	4 *dammas*
47.	Areca nuts	.. „	

land being (are) very great; since nothing comes through the gates that does not pay duty, even men and women as well as head loads and merchandise."[103] If that city alone yielded so much, it is not difficult to imagine that the gross collection from this source must have been considerable. There were a large number of business centres in the Empire.[104] As observed earlier the duties were imposed only on the articles that were sold, and not on all articles carried for sale.

The customs due to the government were not usually collected by them direct, but farmed out to local persons who paid a fixed amount to them. This practice of farming out on contract to bidders is borne out by an inscription in the Shimoga District.[105] The rates of duties differed from place to place, for the renters "took various measures frequeltly for increasing the perquisites of their respective *caukis* at the expense of others. For instance, they advanced money to some of the merchants, requiring only one-half of the duty which was paid by others thus encouraging them to come by their *kaṭṭes* (custom house), where they paid reduced customs, with a view to inducing others to follow the same route. It is impossible to fix on any certain rate in collecting customs on goods imported. When one farmer demanded ten pagodas for 100 loads, another took only two pagodas, and their rates widely differed, as collected at various places. These farmers, from the collections of the customs on different descriptions of goods and trades, paid the amount of the agreed rent to the Sarkar reserving the profits which were more or less

48.	Cotton thread	..	per bag	4 *dammas*
49.	Betel leaves	..	"	"
50.	Long pepper	..	"	6 *dammas*
51.	Pepper	..	"	"
52.	Sandal	..	"	"
53.	Cloves	..	"	"
54.	Nutmeg	..	"	"
55.	Mace	..	"	"
56.	Lead	..	"	"
57.	Tin	..	"	"
58.	Copper	..	"	"
59.	Women's garments	..	Double bullock load	1 *cavela*

(242 of 1892; *E.I.*, VI, p. 232; For another inscription see E.C., V, Bl. 75).

103. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-4.
104. See, for instance, *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75; VIII; Sa 123; *Barbosa;* I; p. 95.
105. In Mysore State, *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 30.

considerable according to circumstances".[106] Nuniz makes a few interesting observations on this system of the farming out of the customs. Speaking about a particular gate in Vijayanagar he remarks: "This gate is rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the renters ask, country folk as well as strangers. In both these cities there is no provision or merchandise whatever, for all come from out-side on pack-oxen, since in this country they always use beasts for burdens; and every day there enter through these gates 2000 oxen and every one of these pays three *vintees* except certain polled oxen without horns which never pay anything in any part of the realm."[107]

Excise duties were levied on the manufacture of salt, and the drawing of today. The unit of taxation of the manufacture of salt was the salt pan.[108] As for drugs, however, we do not know the unit of taxation. But a few inscriptions mention the duties on them.[109]

4. *Profession Taxes*: Taxes on professions contributed a fair share to the state revenues. The tax was collected not on the basis of income, but on the profession as such, traditionally followed by a person. We do not know the exact rates of taxes on the members of the different professions throughout the Empire.[110]

106. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, pp. 583-84.
107. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 366. A *vintem* was about 1 7/20 d. (*Ibid., n.*).
108. *E.C.*, V. Cn. 174.
109. *Ibid.*, V. Bl. 75; III, Ng. 22, etc.
110. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44. From the details of a few epigraphs of the period we notice that the following were the rates on a few of the professionals:

Each Śāliya weaver for each loom	..	9 *paṇams*
Each blacksmith, carpenter, silver or gold smith	..	5 *paṇams* (including *koṭṭu, kiṟṟu, araśupēṟu* and *kāṇikkai*.
Each chief potter	..	5 *paṇams* (including *tirigaiāyam*).
Each chief barber	..	4 *paṇams* (including *kariviāyam*).
Each chief washerman	..	4 *paṇams* (including *kallāyam*).
Each kaṇṇakkānan (brazier)	..	6 *paṇams*.
Each chief oilmonger (At Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore District).	..	20 *paṇams* (including *karuāyam*).
Each Mudali, Kaiviṇakkārar and other residents	..	1 *paṇam*.

(At the seven *pēṭṭais* at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, N. Arcot District; *M.E.R.*, 1928-29 para 69).

Under this group may also be included a variety of other professions and castes that were taxed. Mention may also be made of the tax on shop-keepers who opened their shops in their houses (*maṇaikkaḍaiyār*), which was 3 *paṇams*[111] and farm servants (*puṟakkuḍi*) which was 1 *paṇam*.

Besides, there were taxes on the village headmen (*baṇiyam*)[112] *śaḍaikkaḍamai* (tax on shepherds),[113] carpenters, washermen and potters,[114] the Uvaccaṉs,[115] the shoemakers,[116] the musicians (*pāḍa-*

Each Kaikkōḷar	..	½ *paṇam* on each loom.
Each Śēṇaikkudaiyār	..	½ *paṇam*.
Each fisherman	..	½ *paṇam*.
Each shepherd	..	½ *paṇam* on each *kudi*.
Each oilmonger	..	½ *paṇam*.

(Vṛddhāchalam, S. A. District; 91 of 1918; *Rep.* para 68).

Each Śeṭṭi, Kaikkōḷar and Vāṇiyaṉ		2 *paṇams*.

(At Puḷipparakōil Chingleput District; 293 of 1910).

Each Kaccaḍavāṇiyar (family)	..	3 *paṇams*.
Each Śēṇbaḍavar (family)	..	3 *paṇams*.

(At Puḷipparakōil, Chingleput District; 294 of 1910).

There were taxes on certain officers of government:

Each judge (niyāyattār)	..	5 *paṇams*.
Each member of the village council (*maṇṟāḍi*)	..	½ *paṇam*.
Each Śeṭṭi proprietor	..	3 *paṇams* (including *araśupēṟu*, *vaṭṭam* and *kāṇikkai*).
Each principal collector of tolls	..	4 *paṇams*.

(At Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore District; 59 of 1914, *Rep.*, 1915, para 44).

Here it deserves to be noted that the above taxes not only included those levied on them for their profession, but also those on the instruments or the materials they used in their profession. Thus, for example, the potter's tax *tirigai āyam* was not only a tax on the potter for his profession but also for the *tirigai* or the wheel he used. But Gopinatha Rao translated the term *tirigai āyam* as the tax on the sale of *mundirigai*, cashew nuts or common grape wine. (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 117). This is clearly wrong. The tax on barbers included the tax on the razor (*kaṟivi*) he used. The washerman paid his tax also for the stone he used in doing his work. Gopinatha Rao thinks that the *kallāyam* was very likely a tax payable for quarrying stones from hills. (*ibid*).

111. *Ibid.*, *I.P.S.*, 687.

112. *I.P.S.*, 753.

113. 450 of 1921; 460 of 1922.

114. *E.C.*, IX, Dv. 57.

115. A tax on the temple drummers. (324 of 1911). H. K. Sastri thinks that they were the temple drummers. But Hultzsch thinks that they were a low class of Muslims (*S.I.I.*, I, p. 82*n*). H. K. Sastri's interpretation is more plausible.

116. *E.C.*, X, Ct. 94.

vari(?) or *Pāḍagavari*),[117] *bedabinugu* (mean coquettes fond of show),[118] gilders,[119] toddy drawers and painters,[120] goldsmiths,[121] slaves,[122] and on the *pulavars*.[123] Among the many castes that were taxed were the Brahmans for their earnings,[124] the Pariahs, each of whom was taxed ½ *paṇam* though exceptions were made in certain specified cases,[125] and the Maḍigas and the Vaṉṉiyas.[126] From inscriptions we learn that the members of the Tōṭṭigan caste in Pulliyūrnāḍu were to pay one *paṇam* for the village;[127] each of the six classes of *kuḍimakkaḷ* was taxed ½ *paṇam*[128] Not even the *paradēśis*[129] (sojourners) nor the prostitutes[130] could escape taxation. *Pīḷḷaivari*,[131] *āḷvari* (poll-tax)[132] and the *pērkaḍamai*[133] were three other taxes which seem to have been collected from certain classes of people. Another tax, *nōṭṭavarttaṇai*, went to remunerate the shroffs.[134]

Among the followers of different professions the barbers seem to have been the most fortunate during the time of Sadāśiva, for all the taxes on them were then remitted. However, a large number of inscriptions credit Rāma Rāja with the remission of the tax on barbers.[135] A few others state that the Emperor Sadāśiva remitted the taxes at the instance of Aḷiya Rāmappayya on the petition of the barber Koṇḍoju. Many inscriptions recording this remission have the figures of the barber's instruments like the

117. 30 of 1913; *Rep.*, para 54.
118. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
119. *Ibid.*
120. 216 of 1917; *Rep.*, para 68.
121. 22 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, II, No. 97.
122. *Nel. Ins.*, III, On. 132.
123. 52-A of 1887; *S.I.I.*, V, Appendix, No. 52A.
124. 177 of 1913.
125. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
126. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 67; 30 of 1913; *Rep.*, para 54.
127. *Ibid.*, IX, Ht. 103a.
128. *I.P.S.*, 711.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75; Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, p. 111.
131. *I.P.S.*, 784.
132. *Ibid.*, 733.
133. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 112.
134. 103 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 69.
135. *E.C.*, VI, Tk. 13, etc.

razor, the strop, mirror and the scissors engraved near them.[136] One inscription records that taxes, forced labour, fixed rent, land rent, *mahānavami* torches, *birūḍa*, etc. to be contributed by the barbers were remitted.[137]

Obviously the taxes on the professions were paid once a year and in cash. If they were monthly demands they would have weighed too heavily on the people. Their annual nature is confirmd by an inscription which states that Vīra Bukkaṇa Uḍaiyār (Bukka II) fixed the taxes payable by the Śeṭṭis, Kaikkōḷas and the Vāṇiyas living in the premises of the temple at Puḷipparakōyil at two *paṇams* per year on each person.[138]

5. *Industries Tax*: Under the Vijayanagar kings all industries were taxed. The basis of taxation in this case was the net profit expected by the proprietor. It was on this principle that a few owners of industries were taxed. Incidentally it should be stressed that by industries we do not mean the type of large scale ones of the present day, but only cottage industries, employing only one or two persons. Here a distinction has to be made between the tax on industries and the tax on professionals. The proprietor of an industry was a capitalist running the industry to cater for the public on a commercial scale while the professional was just a wage earner.

The profession tax was levied on the workers and officials and the industrial tax was levied on industries.[139] It may be gleaned from the rates of some taxes that differential taxation obtained

136. The barber Koṇḍoju, who was instrumental in getting the tax remitted, seems to have had great influence with the Emperor. The poet Rudrayya, the author of the Telugu poem *Niraṅkuśopākhyānam*, went to the city of Vijayanagar, and got an interview with the Emperor Sadāśiva through the influence of Koṇḍoju in spite of the jealousy of the court poets. The poet, to show his gratitude to the barber, composed a verse in praise of him which is still extant. (*M.E.R.*, 1926, para 43).

137. *E.C.*, XI, Mk. 6.

138. 293 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 51.

139. The following were the rates of assessment:

Kaikōḷa (weaver) with one working loom.	4 *paṇams*.
Weaver with loom which does not work (*aḍaitari*)	2 „
Śāliya (weaver) for each loom	9 „
Lace loom in working order	3 „
Lace loom not in working order	1½ „
(at Tiruvaigāvūr, Tanjore District; 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44).	
Each loom of the Paraiahs	¼*paṇam*.
(at Vṛddhāchalam, South Arcot Dist., 91 of 1918)	

in those days also.[140] The exact rates of taxes on many industries are not known. There were taxes on looms (*tarikkaḍamai*),[141] oilmills (*śekkukaḍamai*),[142] *ariśikāṇam*,[143] gold (*poṇvari*),[144] superior gold (*śempoṇvari*)[145] on grazing (*pulvari*),[146] folds,[147] thread (*nūlāyam*),[148] silkthread (*paṭṭaḍai nūlāyam*,[149] and ferrying boats (*marakkaḷam*)[150] etc. The manufacture of stamps for looms was also taxed.[151] There was then the *furnace tax*.[152] Evidently having it in view Rice says: "In the winter season, a certain class employed themselves in collecting black sand and earth, in channels from the hills from which they smelted iron used for agricultural and other uses. This ore was smelted in a kind of furnace or large fire stand called *hommal*. For cutting down wood for charcoal and for digging the ore they paid an yearly revenue called *homalagutta* proportioned to the quantity of iron made in the district".[153]

The diamond industry was another equally important one to be taxed. Adapanayque, the lord of the gate at Vijayanagar through which came diamonds, was required to pay the king every

Loom at Pulipparakōyil (in Chingleput Dist.; 293 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 51).	2 *panams*.
Loom at Vāyalūr (in Chingleput District; 361 of 1908).	3

140. For instance: On the looms of the residents who owned lands, a *kaḍamai* of 4 *paṇams* and an *āyam* of 2 *paṇams;* on the looms of new settlers, a *kaḍamai* of 3 *paṇams* and an *āyam* of 1½ *paṇams* (284 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 41).

141. 365 of 1914; *I.P.S.*, 695; 324 of 1911.

142. 203 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 41.

143. 87 of 1887; 89 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 72 and 318.

144. 89 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 318.

145. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.

146. *Ibid.*

147. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2.

148. 20 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 343.

149. 272 of 1912.

150. *I.P.S.*, 707; 440 of 1906.

151. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 71. A tax called the *araśutaṛikkaḍamai* (116 of 1897; *S.I.I* VI, No. 70) is difficult to explain. Wilson notes that *araśu* means 'privileges allowed for watching and *araśukkāraṇ*' a person holding certain privileges for performing police duty. (*Glossary*, p. 31). *Araśu* was thus probably a small police officer. *Araśutaṛikkaḍamai* was most probably a tax on looms collected by or for the *araśu*.

152. *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 71.

153. *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 548.

year 40,000 *pardaos* with the condition that all diamonds which exceeded twenty *mangelins* in weight should be given to the king for his treasury. Thus though the mining industry was in the hands of Adapanayque he was required to give away all superior diamonds to the king.[154]

6. *Military contribution*: For the maintenance of the army and the forts in the empire certain taxes were imposed on the people. Such were the *daḷavili* (military contribution),[155] and *daṇṇāyakasvāmya*, the *daṇṇāyakarmagamai* (contributions to the military commander),[156] *paḍaikkāṇikkai* (contribution made for the maintenance of the army),[157] and the *sanāya* (*senāya*?), also perhaps a tax paid for the maintenance of the army.[158] For the maintenance of the forts in the locality a tax called *kōṭṭai magamai* (contribution for the fort) was collected.[159] It was probably the same as the *kōṭṭaikāṇikkai*.[160] An inscription at Nellorepet mentions the *bīrangi* tax (the tax for cannon).[161] There was another tax called the *kōṭṭaipaṇam* or *kōṭṭaippadivu* which was collected in those days in the Tirunelvēli and Kanyākumari Districts and the southern parts of the modern Kerala State. The kings are said to have forcibly demanded one hundred and twenty-five *paṇams* per *kōṭṭai*. Evidently this was also a military contribution collected for maintaining fortifications and defence walls.[162]

An impost was levied for the defence of the conquered country.[163] There were three other taxes collected from the people known as the *paṭṭayakāṇikkai*,[164] the *vilvari*[165] and the *śūlavari*.[166]

154. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
155. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
156. 510 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 43; *Ibid.*, 1911, para 51.
157. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 112.
158. *C.P.*, 8 of 1921-22.
159. 510 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 43; 373 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 47.
160. 375 of 1917; *Rep.* 1918, para 67.
161. 129 of 1921.
162. *T.A.S.*, V, pt. 5, p. 205. Though this *kōṭṭaipaṇam* was only a military contribution and possibly the same as the *kōṭṭaimagamai*, A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, the Editor of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, is inclined to think that it was probably an unusual tax at the rate of some *paṇams* for lands having a sowing capacity of a *kōṭṭai* of paddy.
163. 373 of 1916; *Rep.* 1917, para 47.
164. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304; 510 of 1921; *Rep.* 1922, para 43.
165. 324 of 1911; *Rep.* 1912, para 49.
166. 89 of 1889; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 318; 241 of 1906; 184 of 1925.

The first was a contribution for the sword, or army. Perhaps it was a contribution levied by the government for the maintenance of the army or more probably a licence fee for possessing a sword. The second was obviously a licence fee for possessing a bow, and the third a licence fee for owning a trident.[167]

7. *Social and Communal Taxes*: A few contributions for social purposes were collected from the people and their organizations. These contributions were either collected by the government and added on to their other revenues, or given over to the public and social institutions like temples or schools. A few of them were levied by the local authorities for the benefit of certain communities. Such was, for instance, the *dombariapaṇṇu*,[168] the money collected for the benefit of the Dommaras, a community of of jugglers—gypsies, wandering in the country. A few others were levied on certain ceremonial functions like marriage, while some contributions (*magamais*) were collected probably locally for certain festivals in temples. Lastly a few contributions, rather feudal, were made by the feudal chiefs to the kings on certain occasions. Paes writes: "Whenever a son happens to be born to this king (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya), or a daughter, all the nobles of the kingdom offer him great presents of money and jewels of price and so they do to him every year on the day of his birth."[169] The tax on marriages had a long history behind it; and the evidence of inscriptions referring to *kallāṇa kāṇikkai* shows that it obtained even in Cōḷa times. The rate of this tax probably differed with the kind of marriage.[170] Taxes were levied on marriage processions,[171]

167. It is suggested that the *śūlavari* was perhaps a small tax or fee paid on the cattle belonging to the temples, each head of cattle being branded at the time of registration in the nearest public office. (*E.I.*, XXV, p. 302).

168. 331 of 1920.

169. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

170. From an inscription we learn that the taxes were collected at the following rates:

"Regular marriage of a girl .. 1 *bagiluvaṇa* (door *hana*) and 1 *devarahana* (God's *hana*).

Kuḍike marriage of a woman .. Half the above amount.

(*M.A.R.*, 1927, para 105; *Kuḍikalyāṇam* is the procession of a nuptial party after the marriage to the bridegroom's house. See 120 of 1921 for a reference to the *vivāhapaṇam*).

171. *E.C.*, IX, Ma. 17.

marriage pandals[172] and marriage celebrations which included dusting of sandal powder and taking processions in palanquins.[173]

Some fixed contributions were collected by the Government from communal groups and organisations. Such were: *iṇavari* (communal obligations),[174] taxes on the *Iḍaṅgai* and *Valaṅgai* sects,[175] *Jaṅgamas, Maḍigas* and the *Jīyars*.[176] A fee called *gaṇācāradere* was collected from beggars;[177] meetings too were licensed against prescribed fees (*kūṭa derige*).[178] The *paṭṭirai* (?) (a tax on guilds)[179] and the *śammādam* (a tax payable by the eighteen communities)[180] the *angaśālai vari* (probably a tax on entertainments)[181] were a few other taxes that were collected.

For the maintenance of the temple of the guardian deity of the village, a tax called *piḍārivari*[182] was collected, and for the celebration of festivals in temples a local cess was levied. A copy of an inscription[183] records that the people in the locality were required to pay for the personal offerings and illuminations of the Goddess Kāḷikā Kamaṭēśvara Durgā Mahān Kāḷi.[184] One Tippaiya who built the temple was to be given rice in the *catra* twice a day and the *gurus* (named) of the *Pāñcālas* who fixed the rates

172. *Ibid.*, XI, Hk. 17.
173. *Ibid.*, IV, Hg. 60.
174. 324 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 49.
175. 373 of 1916.
176. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 67.
177. 48 of 1915.
178. *E.C.*, IV, Gp. 67.
179. 30 of 1913; *Rep.*, para 54.
180. 221 of 1910.
181. *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 54.
182. 117 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 71.
183. Said to be in the Maddagiri Taluk in the Tumkur District.
184. The following rates were stipulated (*E.C.*, XII, Mg. 31): "From the five Āya pāñcālas a yearly contribution per house of 3 *paṇas*; for every marriage among them, one *haṇa;* shaving, 2 *haṇas;* auspicious ceremony, 1 *haṇa;* name giving, ½ *haṇa;* oil for lamps in the month of Kārttika, ¼ *haṇa;* from the carpenter who makes the spiral of the sugar-cane mill, ½ *haṇa;* from the farrier, ½ *haṇa;* from all Haḷipaika villages, a yearly contribution. The names of villages and the rate to be paid by each are given in the inscription; Nagartas and Bheris, one bullock; for oilmen, Devāṅgas and others, 1 *haṇa* per house. And for the periodical festivals (named), upon the customs dues ¼ *śēr* of oil, 1 cocoanut, 2 *du* of incense, arecanut, betel leaf, turmeric and saffron; and for the car festival of Durgā Māhēśvari, a contribution of 2 *du* per house in the Koratagere".

were to be given lands (specified). A large number of instances show that such local contributions were collected for social and religious purposes and functions of a local character.

Among such taxes the most unpopular one was the tax on marriages. It was generally payable on occasions of marriage by both the brides and bridegrooms of all communities. The inscriptions of the period credit Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya with the remission of the taxes on marriages in the several provinces of the Vijayanagar Empire.[185] According to a record the great ministers, Sāḷuva Timmappayya, Sāḷuva Gōvindayya and Aḍapināyaniṅgāru were chiefly instrumental in securing this remission for the people.[186] Similarly the tax payable by the marriage parties for riding at marriages was remitted in Satināḍ.[187]

Judging from the nature of the taxes and the occasions when they were collected, it is not likely that these taxes would have pressed heavily on the people. But the people experienced great relief at the abolition of a few such taxes. This seems to have been due to the fact that they were opposed to the principle of such vexatious taxes on a variety of social and religious functions.

8. *Judicial Income and Fines*: Judicial fines contributed their share to the State revenues. They were imposed for faults, annoyances, theft, adultery and injustice.[188] Stray cattle were impounded and a fine was collected from their owners by the government.[189] In addition tributes were collected "on account of *daṇḍa*".[190] The provincial chief or the caste elder seems to have been given the right of dispensing justice on behalf of the government for which he had to pay a fixed contribution to the state. He could impose fines on the wrong doers, and enjoy the proceeds after paying the fixed amount under this head to the government. This system is well described by Rice: "The government used to appoint some aged men of the several inferior classes to be the heads of their

185. 717 of 1917; *Rep.*, 1918, para 72; a few of them were the Ghanagiri Rājya, Kaṇḍanavōlu, Ghaṇḍikoṭa Sthala, Siddhavaṭṭa, Siddhāpuraśīme; Candragiri Rājya, Nāgamangala śīme, Mula Rājya and Rāyadurga Rājya.

186. *E.C.*, XII, Mk. 64.

187. *Ibid.*, IX, Ma. 17. King Sadāśiva Rāya put a stop to riding at marriages.

188. Ibid., IV, Cn. 97; *I.P.S.*, 711; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.

189. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304.

190. *E.C.*, V, Mj. 56.

respective castes and to administer justice. These headmen, on any complaint against their people, should investigate it and fine them if guilty, adjudging the fine or punishment proportioned according to the law and the nature of the case. For instance, a husband convicting his wife of adultery was allowed to sell her to another man, but of his own caste, and receive the price for his use. These headmen employed *Dāśaris* as subordinate officers to minister in religious ceremonies among the inferior castes. Before the ceremonies commenced, the customary duty or gratuity was given to this minister of religion, and they were then at liberty to proceed with the festival whether of marriage or any other occasion. But if the parties neglected the established presents, the *Dāśaris* returned to their houses in displeasure, and no other *Dāśaris* would perform the office as they would be liable to punishment for interfering. By these means the headmen collected fines, perquisites and presents from their castes from which they paid an annual tax to the government. This branch of custom was called *samayācāram* and was taken credit for in the Jamabandi accounts."[191] There was another tax called *nāṭṭu....śikkam* collected from the people, perhaps for the maintenance of local prisons.[192]

9. *Customary Payments:* Besides these, there were some customary payments made at certain important periods of the year or on special occasions. A few of them were the *kaṭṭigai-avasaram, tōraṇakāṇikkai*,[193] *darśana-kāṇikkai* (fee paid when seeing great personages),[194] food for watchmen,[195] *kālvaśi* (¼ part), *aṉuvarttaṉai, kōvai-varttaṉai* (?), *adhikāravarttaṉai, taṭṭāyakōl, puravaṭṭam, daśavandam, vārapparṟu*, and so on. The real import of some of them is not, however, clear.[196]

In those days the state extracted compulsory service from the people for state undertakings. The *ūḻiyam*[197] or *āḷamañji*[198] mentioned in inscriptions is a reference to this compulsory labour. It was demanded for works like deepening lakes (*ēri kuḻi veṭṭa*), dig-

191. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, pp. 584-85.
192. 55 of 1897; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 4.
193. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 304; *M.E.R.*, 1921-22, para 43.
194. 510 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 43. *E.C.*, VII Ml. 95.
195. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 71.
196. 96 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 69.
197. 581 of 1893; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 257.
198. 87 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 72.

ging canals for irrigation (*āṟṟukkālveṭṭa*), excavating bigger canals (*vāykkālveṭṭa*),[199] working on hills and constructing temple walls,[200] menial labour, as for example, carrying burdens (*kāṟuka*[201] or *śumai*);[202] forced labour was demanded for supplying wood to the camps of the king. Such service was also called *veṭṭi muṭṭi, vēgari*,[203] *veṭṭimuṭṭaiyāḷ*[204] and *āḷtēvai*.[205] A tax, called *koṭṭage* in the Kannaḍa areas, was payable by persons of whom compulsory labour could not be demanded for repairing forts or carrying stores to them.[206] A valuable inscription[207] shows to what extent the state depended on this free labour or the tax in lieu of the same (*veṭṭivari*) from the people. The inscription records the gift to a temple of about 40 to 45 different taxes which appear to have been generally collected by the palace at that period. While a large number of such taxes were gifted away to the temple, the *veṭṭivari* alone was retained by the king.[208]

10. *Miscellaneous Sources*: In addition to the above dues in the shape of coins, grains, and services to the government, or the local magnate who was the renter for the government revenues, there were a large number of dues, generally customary, which were demanded from the people. These were of a miscellaneous character and were demanded in the shape of coins, grains or services and cannot be brought under any of the above heads. It is even difficult to make out the meaning of some of them.[209]

199. 87 of 1887.
200. *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 56.
201. *M.A.R.*, 1916, para 96.
202. 335 of 1921.
203. *I.P.S.*, 730.
204. 365 of 1914.
205. *I.P.S.*, 746.
206. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
207. At Tiruchchengāṭṭāṅkuḍi in Tanjore District.
208. 74 of 1913; *Rep.*, p. 72.
209. Among such taxes and services may be mentioned: *unmārattam* (*E.C.*, X, Kl. 54), *sirṟāyam*—small income from miscellaneous sources—(365 of 1914; *P.S.I.*, 695), *taruppu, tayidu* (28 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 351), *āśupōḍu; makkalperālkoḷḷumvilaiyāṣeru, mānāvittārai* (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 304), *nāṭṭuviṇiyōgam* (375 of 1917), *mādaviraṭṭi*, (221 of 1910; *Rep.*, 1911, para 51), *viṣēṣādāyam* (376 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1914, para 29), *virimuttu* (30 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1913, para 54), *maṇḍaikaṇḍēṟṟam, mallāyimagamai, kurukulaviśēṣāyam, pala daḷi* (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 142), *mugampārvai* (226 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913; para 54) *puḍuvaippāḍu* (230 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 60), *iḍaivari*—tax on weights and measures—(*I.P.S.*, 730), *piṟavari* (511 of 1905; *Rep.*, 1906, para 48), *mānagaṇike*

It appears that the property of Brahmans, some one hundred and one families (*kula*) and eighteen communities (not specified) who had no sons (*aputraka*) lapsed to the State. Apparently there was much resentment against the practice. Hence it appears to have been given up during the days of Sadāśiva Rāya.[210]

Benevolences were demanded in ancient India from the people when the government was perhaps embarrassed for want of funds to prosecute an undertaking, or when a calamity had occurred in the Empire. Such compulsory demands were frequently made in Vijayanagar. Probably they formed an integral part of the revenue system in the Empire, and we get ample references to them.[211] An inscription of A.D. 1419(?)[212] records the right to collect the *bēḍige* (benevolences) and to use the amount for the service of God Nañjanātha granted by Nañjarasava Uḍaiyār. Another record of A.D. 1589(?)[213] registers that Yaṟakṟṣṇappa Nāyaka remitted in Isravali *beḍigê* along with a few other taxes for the merit of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka. The *kaṭṭāyam* mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions seems to have been the same.[214] These taxes were usually collected for some specific purposes. Some institutions like the temple were allowed to collect the taxes. Dēva Rāya II, for instance, ordered that this tax, besides some others, might be collected by the authorities of the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.[215]

The foregoing study gives us an idea of the numerous taxes collected by the Vijayanagar government for various purposes. But the revenues of the state could also be increased. Kṟṣṇadēva Rāya in his *Āmuktamālyada* suggests how the financial resources of the state could be augmented: "For developing the financial resources of the state an increase in its area is necessary; but if

(510 of 1915), *rājalagutṭa* tax (176 of 1913), *śālage* (*E.C.*, V. Hn. 22), *kudiraiviḻāḍam*, *ūśivāśi* (*M.E.R.*, 1928-29, para 69) *cau derige*—four tax (*E.C.*, IV, Gp. 21), tax for the second day of an extra month (*E.C.*, IV, Hg. 91), *manakōṭṭa*, *kolayatta*, (697 of 1917) collected for offerings, and a large number of others.

210. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 15.

211. *Ibid.*, III, My. 28.

212. At Gangavadi in Mysore District (*M.A.R.*, 1928, No. 36).

213. In Manjarabad taluk, Hassan District (*E.C.*, V, Mj. 52; see also *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2).

214. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 142.

215. 226 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 54.

its area is found to be too small and it is impossible to increase it, then if the tanks and channels in it are increased, and the poor cultivating ryot is assisted by concessions both as to cultivation and as to division of the produce in developing his resources it would help to augment both the prosperity and the wealth of the state."[216] The Emperor constructed a lake near his capital for providing water for agricultural purposes. Nuniz says that the annual revenue to the state on this account increased by 20,000 *pardaos*.[217] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was surely no mere theorist.

Similarly a record[218] dated A.D. 1565 states that a certain Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara (whose name unfortunately is obliterated in the inscription) spent 150 *paṇams* on repairing the irrigation tank at Śrīperumbudūr and increasing its capacity, and ordered that the surplus income from the increased tank *ayacut* was to be utilised for providing certain offerings to God Ādikēśavaperumāṉ and to Emberumāṉār.[219] Such instances can be multiplied.

SECTION II

Method of Collection

In medieval South India taxes were generally paid both in kind and cash. There were local granaries in villages and small townships where the share of the state collected in kind was stored.[220] Inscriptions show that the revenue of the state was made up of the *sakalasvarṇādāyam* and *sakala bhaktādāyam* or the *nelmudal* and *poṉmudal* in the Vijayanagar days.[221] The exact terms used in the inscriptions of the Cōḷa days for these two sources of revenue seem to have been *nellāyam* and *kāśāyam*.[222] In a few Vijayanagar inscriptions in the Pudukōṭṭai region the words *nelmudal* and *poṉmudal* are used to indicate respectively the grain and cash revenues of the state.[223] The word *nellāyam* used in an inscription of A.D. 1374 at

216. *Āmukta.*, canto. IV, v. 236.
217. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
218. At Śrīperumbudūr, Chingleput District.
219. 189 of 1922.
220. 96 of 1918.
221. *S.I.I.*, I, No. 55; *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 304; III, p. 73; VIII, p. 304.
222. See *S.I.I.*, I, No. 62, l. 21.
223. *I.P.S.*, 726.

Kāñcīpuram[224] shows that the word continued to be used even in the Vijayanagar days. A record[225] dated A.D. 1529 refers to the taxes in cash and kind. Thus the inscriptions show that the revenue of the state was collected both in kind and in cash, and as Sir Thomas Munro says, "probably according as the state of prices rendered the one or the other desirable."[226]

According to traditional accounts Harihara Rāya wanted to convert payment in kind into payment in cash. For this conversion "fixed rules were established founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase and value of grain". The average return from land was taken to be twelve times the seed sown. But as Sturrock, the author of the *South Canara Manual*, remarks, "in arriving on the method above described, at a money assessment which would bear any fixed proportion to the gross produce of the district, it is necessary to know three things definitely: first the proportion of crop to seed; second the amount of land sown; third the money value of the grain."[227] Taking the first, the supposed proportion of 12:1 between the crop and the seed was not the correct one in many cases. In some cases it was lower than what could have been normally demanded from the landholder.[228] Secondly there is no evidence to show that there was any regular and systematic survey of all the lands undertaken for purposes of assessment.[229] As for the third point, as Sturrock says, "There is no reason for supposing that the available information was in any degree accurate."[230]

But the taxes on land were collected in cash and kind even later. The Śrīraṅgam copper plates of Dēva Rāya II, mention that the state got its revenue both in gold and grain.[231] According to an

224. Chingleput District; 28 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 351.

225. At Devikāpuram in the North Arcot District; 553 of 1912; see also 367 of 1912; *E.C.*, II, Sb. 229 *svarṇādāyam* and *davaśādāyam*. *Devasa* means grain and hence evidently it refers to income in kind.

226. *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, p. 6; letter, dated 31st May, 1801.

227. See *South Canara Manual*, p. 96.

228. See *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, p. 15, letter dated 31st May 1801.

229. Though this statement has been made by the author of the *South Canara Manual* it is open to question, for we have evidence of regular and accurate surveys by the Cōḷas and the early Vijayanagar kings. But it must be admitted that there continued to be local variations in the various measurements in the Empire.

230. *South Canara Manual*. p. 96.

231. *E.I.*, XVII, pp. 110-17.

inscription at Śrīmuṣṇam (in the South Arcot District) the state collected money for the *kaḍamai, kāṇikkai, kuḍi, māḍukkāṇikkai, puṟavari* and *viniyōgam*.[232] The taxes on land seem to have been collected in kind by the state while the additional dues charged on land were collected in cash. Taxes collected in cash appear to have been known some times as *siddhāya* or 'realised' revenue. Commenting on the system of payment in kind Sir Thomas Munro observes: "The system of paying in kind a share of the produce as government rent is also well adapted to the state of things, because the government is always sure of obtaining half of the produce, or whatever its share may be, from the ryot whether the crop be scanty or abundant, and because the ryot is also sure of not being called on for rent when the crop has entirely failed and he is perhaps unable to pay. Such a system is better calculated to save the ryot from being oppressed by the demands which he cannot pay than to enable him to become wealthy. This protection to the ryot from the payment of revenue in a season of calamity is the only advantage which appears to belong to the system, but it is an advantage which could be necessary only under a rigid system and would not be wanted under a more liberal one of assessment."[233] In A.D. 1400 a change was introduced in some parts of the Empire in the method of collection of the state revenues. The difficulty of collecting taxes in cash is clearly described in an inscription at Tirumakkōṭṭai[234] which registers an order to the *Mahājanas* of Pālaiyūr *alias* Bhūpatirāyasamudram that the old method of levying taxes in grain for the protection of the country must be revived instead of the then prevailing custom of collecting both in grain and money.[235] As the government epigraphist remarks, this inscription seems to indicate that at a certain stage both kinds of payment, cash and kind, were adopted and that as it was found difficult to realise the former it was accordingly given up.[236]

The case of the dry lands was, however, quite different. From them revenue was collected only in cash; we do not come across any inscription which shows that the government dues on dry

232. 246 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 66; see also 680 of 1917.
233. *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, pp. 236-37; letter dated 31st December 1824.
234. In Tanjore District.
235. 259 of 1917.
236. *M.E.R., Rep.*, 1918, para 69.

lands were collected in kind. Even in one and the same inscription we see that while the rates for the wet lands were allowed to be paid in kind or cash, the taxes on dry crops were required to be paid only in cash. For instance, an inscription of Dēva Rāya II found at Tiruvaigāvūr[237] fixes the rates of dues payable to the state both in kind and in cash for wet land, while the dry lands and crops were taxed only in cash. Plantain, sugar-cane, Bengalgram, areca palms, jack trees, all came under this heading.[238]

As regards collection itself, four different methods were adopted. The first was one where the government appointed its own servants to collect the revenue. By the second the government farmed out the revenues to individual bidders. By the third the government dealt with a body or a group of persons in a village which was responsible for the revenue from that village or group of villages. By the fourth the government granted portions of the Empire to certain persons who were called *nāyakas*, in return for military service and the payment of a fixed tribute to the imperial government.

(1) A number of inscriptions refer to officers who made grants or remitted taxes. They were generally appointed by the government, and looked after the collection of the revenues of the state. Here one must notice a distinction; in an ordinary village, the lands were generally held by the residents on a ryotwari basis, and hence there was no combined action on the part of the villagers in their dealings with the government; in a joint village, the lands were held in common by the villagers and hence were jointly cultivated, or at least their proceeds were divided among the people in proportion to the lands they owned. In the latter case there seems to have been combined action on the part of the villagers in their dealings with the government. But in the ryotwari villages, in a majority of cases, the kings had to appoint their own officers for the collection of state revenues. In an inscription of A.D. 1360-61 we hear, for instance, of an officer called Meydēvar who was in charge of the taxes of Pulināḍ.[239] There is also evidence that there were customs officers (*śuṅkadaadhikāri*) in the Empire.[240] We have to assume that such villages,

237. In Tanjore District.
238. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
239. 309 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1912, para 51.
240. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 149.

where these officers were appointed, were ryotwari villages, i.e. with individual and separate ownership of the lands or royal villages with only demesne lands. The officers of government collected the taxes from the ryotwari villages and remitted them to the treasury. Where the kings had large tracts of land as demesne lands, the rent from them had to be collected only by their own officers.

(2) The second method of collection was based on contract, according to which the taxes from a particular area or province were farmed out to the highest bidder. He was responsible for the collection of the revenues from the locality. Moreland says of this system in the Vijayanagar Empire, "It is a noteworthy fact that in the seventeenth century the agrarian system of the Vijayanagar territory was practically identical with that of the Moslem Kingdom of Golkonda, and it is most unlikely that the former should have borrowed a new system from the latter; the more probable inference is that farming had become established as the mainstay of the Hindu agrarian system in the South by the end of the thirteenth century";...."Alauddin Khalji took it over at the time when he acquired the territories which later became the kingdoms of the Deccan;"[241] again he says: "The practice of appointing provincial governors on farming terms prevailed in the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar and it is probable that the farming system extended down from the province to the village under the empire as it certainly did in this region after the empire had collapsed."[242] But Moreland ignores the distinction between farming out revenues to bidders on one hand and granting lands to individuals against fixed financial contributions and military contingents in times of war on the other. Really the two are different. When revenues were farmed out to bidders, the contractors, or the 'renters' as they came to be called, had nothing to do with military service for the king, nor did they administer the territory under their charge. They were to pay to the government only a fixed amount of revenue.

This system of farming out the revenues is indicated by both the literature and inscriptions of the period. It was seen earlier that Nuniz records that the main gate of Vijayanagar was rented

241. *Agrarian Systems of Moslem India*, p. 12; for a description of the system under the Muslims see Metthwold, *Relations of Golkonda*, pp. 11 ff.
242. *Ibid.*, p. 12, *fn.* 2.

out for 12,000 *pardaos* every year. The inscriptions of the period also refer to the *kaṭṭu kuttagai* and the *guṭṭige* systems by which is meant the farming system. Sometimes the taxes and rent let out on contract on a cash basis were known also as *siddhāya*. For instance, it is recorded that "Harihara Oḍeyar made the *dharma* that for the *Āraga* city the fixed rent (*siddhāya*) and combined dues should be 100 *varāhas*. Customs and watchmen's dues at the former rate. Thus much will we continue." This *dharmaśāsana* of Harihara was confirmed by Sadāśiva Nāyaka and Rāma Rāya Nāyaka, and granted to one Benakappa Śeṭṭi of Āraga and a few others in A.D. 1545.[244] Fisheries were also let out on contract; an inscription of A.D. 1522 at Koḍuṅgaḷūr[245] records the gift of the income from the lease of fishery in the tank at Koḍuṅgaḷūr for deepening the tank by Daḷavāy Śēvappa Nāyaka for the merit of Tirumalai Nāyaka, the agent of the king.[246] The government sometimes received a consolidated amount for all the taxes imposed by it upon a particular locality.

Buchanan has something to say about this system of farming out the state revenues. About the chief *gauḍa* of a village who was the chief farmer he says: "He received the whole dues of the government and he agreed to pay so much to the government, and made as much as he could consistently with the rules of the village.[247] This office of the *gauḍa* (renter) was generally hereditary. Besides the income he got, which was the difference between the amount of revenue collected and the payment made to the government, he was entitled to a share of the wet crops in the village. The *gauḍa* also performed the village sacrifices which were in the Canarese Districts made to the Cumba (pillar), the image of the village God."[248] But this description seems to refer to a very small renter, and there were bigger farmers who were in charge of the revenues of larger areas.

Though this system simplified government's responsibility for the collection of revenues, it must have weighed heavily on the

243. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 366; *Supra*, p. 62.

244. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 15; see *ibid.*, IV, Yl. 62 for another instance worth noting.

245. In North Arcot District.

246. 145 of 1924.

247. These were perhaps in the nature of the customs of the village.

248. *A Journey through Canara, Mysore and Malabar*, I, p. 269.

people. Under this arrangement the government could not regulate the manner of revenue collection by the farmers. So long as they paid the amount due to the government in time there could be no interference and hence they could do what they liked with the ryots with impunity. As Moreland truly remarks, "the net payments made by the farmers-in-chief constituted the central revenue at the disposal of the king and his ministers, while within the government or district the farmer-in-chief could farm out any possible source of revenue, the balance of receipts after making good his contract remaining at his own disposal. These liabilities discharged, the governor could retain all that he collected in excess of necessary expenditure, and his sole object was to make the collection as large as possible. The financial system in South India was thus perhaps the simplest as it was the most oppressive which it would be possible to devise."[249] Though Moreland confuses a governor or a Nāyaka with a revenue farmer, his estimate of the system is on the whole correct.

(3) Many Vijayanagar inscriptions show that the *nāḍu* and the *sabhā*, the local assemblies, were in charge of collection of the revenues of the government in the areas under their jurisdiction. The government dealt only with these bodies in places where they existed. Remission of taxes by the imperial government or by high local officials, had to be made only with the consent of the local bodies (village assemblies, corporations, such as merchant guilds, etc.) which carefully guarded the interests of the community.[250] A record dated Ś. 1385 at Tiruvaḍatturai[251] registers, for instance, gift of the taxes on lands in Teṉkarai Śiṟukūḍaḷūr for worship and repairs to the temple of Tiruvaṟatturai Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Tiruvaṟatturai Nelvāy, a *brahmadeya* in Karaippōkkunāḍu, by the assembly and *tantirimār* of Karaippōkkunāḍu.[252] Another inscription found at the same place but dated in Ś. 1365 registers an assignment, by the *nāṭṭār* of Padineṭṭuparṟu and the *tantirimār*, of the taxes collected from the settlers in the streets belonging to the temples of Tiruttūṅgaṉaimāḍam Uḍaiya Nāyaṉar and Viṟṟirunda Perumāḷ at Peṉṉāgaḍam, Tirumuttiṉśivigai Kuḍuttaruḷiya Nāyaṉār at Tiruvaṟatturai and Dāgan ti(r) ttaruḷiya Nāyaṉār at

249. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 272-3.
250. 681 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.
251. In South Arcot District.
252. 211 of 1928-29.

Timmāraṇpāḍi, to provide offerings for the respective deities during the service called *Periyanāṭṭān-śandi*.[253] However, the village assemblies or the temples, if they wanted to make any grant from the state revenues, had to get the previous sanction of the government. Thus in the reign of Vijaya Bhūpati Uḍaiyār (son of Dēva Rāya I), the *sthānattār* (the managers of the temple) of Pulippagavarkōyil are stated to have granted after consulting the revenue authorities at Candragiriśāla a remission of 6 *paṇams* which they used to take in excess from the Kaikkōlas as *vāśalpaṇam*, but collected as before 3 *paṇams* on each family of Kaccaḍa vāṇiyar, 3 *paṇams* from each family of Śivaṇpaḍavar (Śembaḍavar); 40 *paṇams* on cloths and 4 towards *kāṭṭigaikāṇikkai*.[254]

(4) Lastly we may discuss the *nāyaṅkara* system whereby lands were granted to certain persons against annual tributes and military service. This system is well described by both the Portuguese chroniclers, Paes and Nuniz. Paes writes: "Should any one ask what revenues this king possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops, since he has so many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, the greater part of them, have themselves revenues, I answer thus: These captains, whom he has over these troops of his, are the nobles of his kingdom;.... there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million and a half of *pardaos*, others a hundred thousand *pardaos*, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand *pardaos*....Besides maintaining these troops each captain has to make his annual payments to the king."[255] Nuniz also makes similar observations on the revenues of the Vijayanagar kings. He mentions a few officers of the king who had not only certain military duties but also certain financial obligations and finally concludes, "in this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have, so the king settles for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenues they have to pay him."[256]

In such cases from the point of view of revenue collection there was a combination of assignment of land for services and

253. 215 of 1928-29.
254. 294 of 1910; *Rep.*, para 51.
255. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-81.
256. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

farming out of revenues of the government. For instance, Sāḷuva Nāyaka, who was the Prime Minister of Acyuta Rāya was the lord of Charamāodel and of Nagapatão and Tamgor, and Bomgarin, and Dapatao and Trugwel and Caullim. He got a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *pardaos,* of which he was obliged to give a third to the king. Besides this he had some military duties also.[257]

Thus four distinct methods were adopted for the collection of the revenues of the state. But it may be noted here in passing that as the rural organisations, where they existed slowly, lost their vitality and hold on the villages, the principle of farming out taxes was extended to such villages also, and later taken over by the government itself which appointed its own village officers for purposes of collection. But the system of farming out the revenues of the state, and the granting of *jagir ināms,* which carried with them certain financial obligations, continued to be in vogue right to the period of the permanent establishment of British power in South India.[258]

SECTION III

Concessions and Remissions

The Government paid due consideration to the condition of the ryots. Where the monsoon was unfavourable or unforeseen circumstances affected the normal yield of land the cultivator was granted relief from the burden of taxation. Concessions were shown in deserving cases. A number of inscriptions reveal the solicitude of the state for hard pressed ryots.

A record of A.D. 1402-03 at Vaḷuvūr,[259] for instance, states that certain lands (*parṟu*) which had been submerged and were lying waste on account of floods in the Kāvērī were brought under cultivation, the tenants being granted concessions in the payment of

257. *Ibid.,* pp. 384-85.

258. We have, however, no direct evidence to prove the above. Since the renting out of the revenues of the state was in vogue in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the government took over the collection of the revenues in a large number of cases during the subsequent period, we may assume that with the decline of the village assemblies, the system of renting out the revenues was adopted on a larger scale.

259. In Tanjore District.

taxes. It is stated that some villages (*parṟu*) near Vaḷuvūr were lying fallow since the time the river Kāvērī overflowing its banks had washed away the demarcation bunds between fields, had silted up the irrigation channels, and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields for a considerably long period. These were now reclaimed, the channels restored, the boundary banks repaired and the tenants rehabitated on certain favourable conditions.[260]

A record at Āḍuturai[261] (A.D. 1450) registers that the tenants (*kuḍi*) in twelve villages of Ugaḷūr Kurambarvāy śīrmai had abandoned them owing perhaps to heavy taxation, and consequently an agent of Vīramaraśar regulated the taxes at 5 *paṇams* for the first year and 10 from the following year on each plough of dry land, and at 8 *paṇams* on every 100 *kuḷis* of wet land.[262]

Under certain circumstances the government also exempted lands from the payment of taxes for a specified period, and fixed graded rates of assessments thereafter for the convenience of the people, so that they might bring new lands under cultivation and improve the soil. Speaking about the big lake which Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya excavated Nuniz says that people utilized it to effect many improvements in the city and, "in order that they might improve their lands he (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāyā) gave the people lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years until they had made their improvements, so that the revenue already amounts to 20,000 *pardaos*."[263]

260. The conditions are thus enumerated in the inscription: 1. During the first year of holding half of the usual dues only would be collected on lands cultivated both for *kār* and *pāśaṇam* and three-fourths from the following year; (2) of money collections *kuḍimai* and *kāṇikkai* being declared *niṅgal*, half of *paḷavari* and *puduvari* alone would be levied; (3) the tenants too would be assessed at half rates during the first year on *kaḍamai* and *araśupēṟu, vāśalpaṇam, āyam, pulvari* and other such taxes, while from the following year they would be require to pay three-fourth rates except in the case of *pulvari*, which would remain the same; (4) *magamai* and *kāṇikkai* would be treated likewise, and (5) the same concessions would be allowed in the case of lands belonging to temples and Brahmans. Kambaṅguḍaiyār, the person who was chiefly responsible in reclaiming these lands, was given the special privilege of collecting(?) *kaḍamai* from all the tenants who cultivated lands under his direction. This concession of charging half rates of assessment during the first year was extended also to other waste lands which might similarly be brought under cultivation year after year.

261. In Tiruchirapalli District.

262. 36 of 1913.

263. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

In 1379 on Aṅkaya Nāyaka, the son of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Soṇṇaiya Nāyaka, the superintendent of Nondiguḷināḍu and a few others exempted certain lands under his jurisdiction from the payment of taxes for two years.[264] At times, though such wholesale exemptions for a specified period were not granted, assessment was made on a graded scale. Thus Namaśśivāya Nāyaka when he received the village of Śembiyamaṅgalam as an *uḷavu kāṇiyākṣi* in A.D. 1514-15, was required to pay ten *paṇams* and ten *kalams* of paddy in the first year, but in the fifth year the payment was raised to fifty *paṇams* and fifty *kalams* of paddy.[265]

During the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya an order exempted the tenants colonising Araśarkōyil from all taxes for one year and fixed the rates of certain taxes leviable from the following year.[266] An inscription at Nārattampūṇḍi[267] mentions the gift to the temple of Aṇṇāmalaiyār of a village newly formed by and named after Kumāra Kṛṣṇamarāśayyan, son of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Aḷiya Rāmappayadēva Mahārāśayyan, with the remission of taxes granted to the settlers in the village for the first six years.

Unforeseen mishaps to the people, like plunder, raid, drought, floods or the ruined condition of a village was given due consideration, and concession was shown in the matter of collection of taxes from the ryots thus affected. During the time of Śrī Raṅga, Nāgappa Nāyaka, the agent (*kāryakarta*) of the king made an agreement with the merchants, weavers, etc., of Śrīraṅgarāyapura at Amṛtalūru remitting the taxes payable by them for the first three years on account of a plunder.[268] The ruined condition of the village of Kanakavīḍu necessitated the grant of a *cowl* to the *gauḍas* and the people of the village after remitting 90 *varāhas* of *kaṇike* in order to induce them to resettle in the village.[269] In some cases deserted villages were rehabilitated and granted as *sarvamānya* for different services in temples.[269a]

264. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 50.

265. 389 of 1912. It appears that for the intervening three years the rates of taxes increased progressively.

266. 307 of 1921.

267. Polur taluk, North Arcot District (380 of 1925).

268. 629 of 1920.

269. 548 of 1915.

269a. 346 of 1954-55; *Rep.*, p. 18.

SECTION IV

The Department of Revenue

The Revenue Department was known as *aṭhavana*[270] and was presided over by the Minister for Revenue. He was helped by a large staff of officers and clerks in keeping regular accounts of the income of the government from the various districts and sources. Evidently the administration of this branch was divided into a large number of small sections, each under a superintendent. It appears that there were special officers in charge of the collection of various taxes in the different parts of the Empire. Besides, the revenue of every district was generally in charge of an Officer appointed by the government. Orders conveying the remissions of taxes or the imposition of new ones were communicated to him. Sōmappa Uḍaiyār, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, Viṭṭapparaśar, the treasurer, made a gift of tolls for providing (daily) a flower garland and a lamp to the temple of Edirkoṇḍaperumāḷ at Kurumavi (a village) in Puḷināḍu. The order was issued to Meydēvar who was in charge of the taxes of Puḷināḍu.[271] Another inscription fom the Hoskote taluk[272] refers to the tax collectors of the Erumuṟaināḍu and the customs officer of the Muḷuvāynāḍū.[273] Similarly we get reference in an inscription at Śrīperumbudūr[274] to the officer called the Controller of Tolls who was directed by Śrīgirināṭha Uḍaiyār to collect, on behalf of the king, a duty of one *paṇam* on every loom in the *Tirumaḍaiviḷāgam*.[275]

The royal order was sent to the local governors and it was entered in four registers and when a third party was involved in the matter of remissions or grants, the original order of the king was placed in the hands of the party concerned. Dēva Rāya II, for instance, gave an order to Śrīgirināṭha of Candragiri permitting him to remit the *jōḍi* of 131 *poṉs* (*varāhaṉs*) and 6¼ *paṇams*, or 1,316¼ *paṇams* at 10 *paṇams* per *poṉ*, due to the Candragiri rājya from Tiruppukkuḷi[276] in order that the amount might

270. *E.C.*, III, Sr. 105; XI, Jl. 7.
271. 309 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 51.
272. In Bangalore District.
273. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 149.
274. In Chingleput District.
275. 207 of 1922; see also 693 of 1919 for a reference to similar officer.
276. In Chingleput District.

be utilised for the temple of Porĕrriperumāḷ of the place. The order further directed the viceroy to send his own *tīruvaccīṭṭu* to the *sthānīkas* of the villages, to make copies of the king's order (*rāyasa*) in the four registers, and to place the original document in the hands of the *sthānīkas* as a *śāsana*. Śrīgirināṭha issued the *tīruvaccīṭṭu* in compliance with the order of the king to the *sthānīkas* of Tiruppukkuḷi.[277] Here the order conveying the remission of the taxes in favour of the temple which was placed in the hands of the *sthānīkas* of the temple served as their record.

But where the *nāṭṭavar* (district assembly) were responsible for the payment of revenues to the government, the communication was sent to them. In the case of such remissions, the assembly, which kept regular accounts for its income from various sources, deducted the amount thus remitted by the imperial officers both from the tax register and the village account. A valuable inscription at Pĕṟaiyūr[278] registers such a procedure. It records that one Tirumēṉi Aḻagiyār of Śūraikkuḍi set apart the amount of 150 *vāḻālaḻi tiṟandāṉ kuḻiśai paṇam* due annually as *paccai paṇam* from the temple for offerings to God at the service called after his name; and that the *nāṭṭavar* (district assembly) deducted the above amount and recorded it in the tax register and the village account.[279] This inscription clearly shows that the *nāṭṭavar* were responsible for the collection of the taxes in the *nāḍu* and hence maintained the tax register and the village account. But in later days the assemblies of the village and the *nāḍu* showed signs of decay and dismemberment in their organisation, and hence they were gradually deprived of the responsibility of collecting taxes; and instead revenue collectors and revenue farmers were appointed.[280]

We see both the imperial and the local governments remitting taxes in favour of public institutions like a temple or a *maṭha*.

277. 172 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 140.
278. In Tiruchirapalli District.
279. *I.P.S.*, 699.
280. Here it must be noted that though farming was adopted for the collection of the revenues in many parts of the Vijayanagar Empire in a period when the *sabhā* was also in a flourishing condition and collected the revenues of the state for the government, it was prevalent only in a few places, and when the village assemblies showed signs of decay, naturally the system of renting out the revenues of the state had to be extended to such villages also.

The question will naturally arise if the provincial governor or a local assembly could remit taxes without the permission of the government at the headquarters. It seems that the local officers or administrative units could remit certain specified taxes, while the power to remit others was reserved to the imperial government; for the power to remit taxes depended upon the nature of the revenue and the allocation of the taxes as between the local and the imperial treasuries. Taxes due to the imperial government could be remitted by the local authority only with the approval and consent of the imperial authority, while local dues could be remitted by them without imperial sanction.

However, if the local authority remitted a tax due to the centre without the approval of the imperial authority it did so on its own responsibility. It did not involve any loss of revenue to the central government for the remission was made good by the levy of higher rates of taxes on other sources by the local authority, which was usually obliged to pay a fixed amount from the village to the central government.

In the imposition of new local taxes or in their remission, the order of the imperial government was more advisory than mandatory. The marriage tax, for instance, seems to have been only a local tax. Generally Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya has been credited with the remission of the tax on marriages; but even during the days of Acyuta Rāya the tax continued to be levied as shown by a few inscriptions of his period. If the tax had been an imperial one, then at one stroke of the pen the tax would have been abolished by the enlightened Emperor. In an inscription dated A.D. 1540[281] the people of the locality wish prosperity to the agents, *śīme hebbaruvas, gauḍas, śēnabhovas, śeṭṭis, paṭṭaṇasvāmis*, and all of both sects of *nānādēśis*,[282] who were responsible for the remission of the tax on marriages in that year. This expression of the gratitude of the people to the influential persons in the locality for the remission of the tax clearly shows that it was a local tax. Likewise the tax on the artisans seems to have been only a local one. The tax levied on them was not uniform. At Kaṇagānipalḷi[283] is found an inscription which throws some light on this question. It records an order of Īśvarayya, the agent Vākaṭi Timmappa Nāyaṇi-

281. In Hollakere taluk. Chitaldurg District.
282. E.C., XI. Hk. 111.
283. In Dharmavaram taluk, Anantapur District.

vāru, to Bhuvi Reḍḍi Cennama Reḍḍi of Kaṇagāṇipaḷḷi and Karṇam Cinnaya and a few others to remit several taxes on the artisan castes (*pāñcālamvāru*) of Kanagāṇipaḷḷi, from which the castes had been exempt since former times, but which were imposed in the time of Timmappa Nāyuḍu, as a result of which the *pāñcālamvāru* migrated from that *śīme* to Kundripiśīme and Pākalaśīme.[284] The places to which the artisans migrated were not very far away from their original place. Their migration to the adjacent *śīme* shows that in that locality no tax was levied on the *pāñcālas*, and if at all they were taxed, such taxes were very light. Such variations in the revenue systems of two neighbouring localities indicate that many such taxes were generally local in character.

But imperial taxes collected directly by the central government were different. They could be remitted only by the imperial government. An inscription at Sāligrām[285] throws some valuable light on this question. It records that a deputation of the *adhivāsis*, *mahājagat* and the *haggaḍes* (chiefs) of Koṭa waited on king Virūpākṣa II at his capital, Vijayanagar, in Ś. 1390 and obtained a remission of three hundred *varāhas*, being a portion of the *siddhāya* which they had to pay.[286] It is interesting to note here that Viṭṭharasa, the local governor had nothing to do with either the imposition or the remission of the tax, which went to the imperial treasury. Another record from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa[287] records a gift of 121 *honnu* made at the instance of Dēva Rāya Mahārāya by Bhānappa Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru rājya, to conduct the *bhogapatra* twice a day. It is said in the inscription that the king ordered that the amount was to be realised from the *siddhāya* tax.[288] Thus an examination of these two records points to the conclusion that the *siddhāya* tax was payable to the imperial exchequer, and had to be distributed or remitted only by the king or the imperial government. In the case of the *nāyakas* who held lands from the king on a feudal tenure, remissions of taxes by them would not affect their fixed contribution to the imperial exchequer. Communications of the remissions made by the central government were sent to those responsible for the collection of imperial revenue. They would note the remissions in their account books, for reference and

284. 340 of 1926; *Rep.* para 43.
285. In South Canara District, Mysore State.
286. 514 of 1928-20; *Rep.* para 62.
287. In South Canara District, Mysore State.
288. 412 of 1927-28.

action at the time of collection. These account books known as the *paṭṭe* contained the names of the tenants and the amount of assessment they had to pay.

At times certain taxes were remitted in return for a consolidated amount which was probably their capitalised value. Perhaps the items of revenue were too many and petty in detail and the arrangement was made evidently to lessen the inconvenience of entering them all in the account books. For instance, the trustees of the temple of Aḷagiya Nāyiṉār at Tiruvāmāttūr[289] leased or farmed out the various taxes to the local Kaikkōḷas (weavers) on the condition that they should pay them at the rate of six *paṇams* per loom per annum in one lump.[290] Nārayya Nāyakkar issued an order to the people Magadai maṇḍalam waiving the right of levying *varuṣa kāṇikkai* in the whole *parru* governed by him for, as he himself has stated in the inscription, the Magadai maṇḍalam was given away to the residents of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭavar*), and a certain amount of money was received as subsidy in lump sum (*kāṇikkai*) that year, and it was unlawful to collect *kāṇikkai* in subsequent years.[291] In another case Vīra Bukkaṇṇa Uḍaiyār (i.e. Bukka II) in Ś 1326 fixed the taxes payable by the Śeṭṭis, Kaikkōḷas and the Vāṇiyars living in the premises of the temple of Puḷipparakōyil at 2 *paṇams* per year on each individual and 2 *paṇams* on each loom.[292] Then again a record at Boppasandra in the Malavalli taluk of A.D. 1388 registers that Bhaṭṭa Bhāciyyappa's son, Bukkaṇṇa of the lineage of Tillas, granted, with all rights and taxes named free from all imposts, the village Boppasamudra, a hamlet of Hadaravāgilu, excluding former grants for the office of *Gauḍa* and for the deities of the village to Kampaṇṇa, Cāvuḍappa and others on condition of the payment of an annual rental of 40 *varāhas*.[293] Likewise payment

289. In South Arcot District.

290. 204 of 1921; *Rep.*, para 41.

291. 109 of 1918 *Rep.* para 69.

292. 293 of 1910, *Rep.*, 1911, para 51.
This amount apparently covered all the taxes payable by them, i.e., *paṭṭaḍainūlāyam, āṭṭai śammādam, pērāyaccemmādam, kaiyēṟpu, māḍaviraṭṭi* and *daṇṇāyakar-magamai.*

293. *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 79.
Among the taxes mentioned are the taxes on the threshing floor, houses and carts, *kirukula, beḍabinugu, grāmagadyāṇa, meḍidere, daḷavili, hādara, hombali, daṇṇāyakasvāmya, noṭa, nenapu, maḷabraya,* the good ox, *malleṇḍige, kūḷu, koṭṭige, sollage* and *mallige.*

in cash was commuted for payment in kind, as is shown by an inscription at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.[294] It registers an order of an Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaperūmāḷ Toṇḍaimāṉār issued to a native of Nāṭṭiṉmangalam to measure a fixed quantity of paddy in lieu of the taxes due by him on certain lands in the temple of Agattīśuramuḍaiya Nāyiṉār.[295]

Nuniz notes that the king gave no receipt for the money he received from his 'captains': "He (the king) never gives any receipts to them, only, if they do not pay, they are well punished, they are ruined, and their property taken away."[296] But it is doubtful if we can believe the statement of Nuniz. It is incredible that such an elaborate machinery of administration could have been carried on without receipts for the money granted or the income derived.[297]

The financial year in the Vijayanagar days commenced in September-October, when the *Mahānavami* was celebrated for nine days; and the accounts were cleared then. Paes says that it began on the twelfth of September,[298] and states that the new year commenced in the month of October. "At the beginning of the month of October when eleven of its days had passed.....on this day begins their year; it is their New Year's Day.....They begin the year in this month with the new moon, and they count the months always from moon to moon."[299] Within these nine days the king was paid all the rents that were due from his kingdom.[300] Nuniz says: "According to the lands and revenues that they have so the king settles for them.....how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of

294. In Ramnad District.

295. 120 of 1916.

296. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

297. We get reference to receipts in Travancore in the 17th century. Two copies of a record of K.A. 873 in the Kerala State make reference to the grant of receipts. The epigraph under reference says, "when the taxes of *mēlvāram* and *pāṭṭam* are paid the receipt shall be obtained by showing the receipts for the previous year.' (*nāṇḍaikkuṟiyum talaikkuṟiyum kāṭṭi*.....) (*T.A.R.*, V. Nos. 71 and 72; pp. 211 and 215). It may be asked how the idea of granting receipts could not have been known in Vijayanagar also.

298. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

299. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-82.

300. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

September."[301] According to him the dues to the imperial government seem to have been payable every month in accordance with an annual assessment made in September.

SECTION V

The Burden of Taxation

Before closing this chapter it remains for us to examine how the burden of taxation was felt by the people. Sir Thomas Munro in one of his letters observes: "However light Indian revenue may be in the books of their sages, only a sixth or a fifth, in practice it has always been heavy.....No person who knows anything of Indian revenue can believe that the ryot, if his fixed assessment were only a fifth or a fourth of the gross produce, would not every year, whether good or bad, pay it without difficulty, and not only do this, but prosper under it beyond what he has ever done at any former period.....I never could discover the least foundation for the assumption that the Hindu assessment had been raised by the Mahomedan conquest or for believing that the assessment which we find, did not exist before that period.....The few imperfect records which have reached us of the revenues of Vijayanagar, the last of the great Hindu powers, do not show that the assessment was lighter under that government than under its Mahomedan successors."[302] Inscriptions of the period go to show that during certain periods of Vijayanagar history the taxes were heavy. The people could not bear the tax-burden and hence were at times forced to sell their lands to meet the government demands. A record at Tirukkōḷakkuḍi[303] registers the sale of land to the temple of Tirukkōḷakkuḍi Āṇḍa Nāyaṉār by the Maṟavas of Vēlanguḍi in Pūṅguṉṟa nāḍu in order to pay the taxes due from them on their holdings. The lands were sold under very distressing circumstances, and the Maṟavas had no other means of discharging their dues to the government.[304] In the year 1519 the owners of lands and *pāḍikāval* rights in and around Tiruvaṟaṅguḷam[305] were forced to sell their lands for repaying a loan which they had origi-

301. *Ibid.*, p. 389.
302. *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, pp. 237-8.
303. In Ramnad District.
304. 50 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 64.
305. In Tiruchirapalli District.

nally taken from the temple treasury for clearing up certain dues, *vēṇḍugōḷ, viṇiyōyam, eṟcōṟu, kuṟṟariśi* and *veṭṭimuṭṭaiyāḷ*. They had to sell their lands for they were otherwise unable to meet the demands made by Svāmi Narasā Nāyakkar on behalf of the government.[306]

Sometimes people opposed levy of taxes. Local organisations like the village assembly and the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* 98 sects joined together and opposed the *rājagarm*. Now and then after due deliberation they themselves fixed certain rates of taxes which they would pay to the government. In the year 1429 at Tiruvaigāvūr[307] the assembled residents of Parāntakanādu and the *Valaṅgai* and the *Iḍaṅgai* sects arrived at a settlement on the payment of their dues to the king. In the preamble to their decision they traced the reasons for adopting that procedure, and observed: "From the time of the Kannaḍiyas (Hoyśālas) the district had been declared to be the *jīvitaparṟu* of the (temple) servants; taxes were not collected by one single person; the lands were leased out (*aḍavōlai*) to other persons and *puṟavari* taxes were collected. In this way the whole district came to be ruined". After stating in the preamble the difficulties arising from heavy taxes they fixed the rates of taxes to be levied on their lands taking into account the nature of their tenure. Finally, they decided that without the consent of the assembled body (*maṇḍala*) of people, the collection of taxes as prescribed, in the schedule should not be altered.[308]

At Vṛddhācalam[309] the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects went a step further and decided to offer civil resistance to the government. "The officers of the king (*rājanya*) and the owners of *jīvitas* oppressed the people.....and the Kāṇiyāḷan and the Brahmans took the *rājagaram* (taxes). Hence the two castes decided that they should not give them shelter, or write accounts fo them, or agree to their proposals, and that if any one proved a traitor to the country (by acting against the settlement) he should be stabbed."[310] The inscription recording this, though fragmentary, clearly shows that the officers of the king were quite oppressive in the levy and the col-

306. *I.P.S.*, 733.
307. In Tanjore District.
308. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.
309. In South Arcot District.
310. 92 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68.

lection of taxes. A record at Korukkai[311] registers an agreement among the members of the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects who formed themselves into an organised body to offer civil resistance against bad and oppressive government, and resolved: "Because they did not tax us according to the yield of the crop, but levied the taxes unjustly.....we were about to run away. Then we realised that because we of the whole country (*maṇḍalam*) were not united in a body, we were unjustly dealt with....Hereafter we shall just pay what is just and in accordance with the yield of the crops and we shall not pay anything levied unlawfully." Then they fixed the rates of taxes to be paid on the wet and dry produce of lands, the produce of trees, such as jack, areca, palmyra, plantains, sugarcane, on red lotus, artemesia, castor plants, sesamum, turmeric, ginger, etc. and on professions of fishermen, potters, weavers, barbers, washermen, oilmongers, toddydrawers and painters.[312]

Similarly at Peṉṉāḍam[313] the same *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects formed themselves into a body to oppose coercion and oppression by the officers of the government.[314] In certain parts of the Empire where the people were not well united to offer civil resistance, they abandoned their original homes and migrated elsewhere. To prevent such migrations, or, when they had migrated, to call them back to their old villages, the government had to reduce the taxes. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya truly says in his *Āmuktamālyada* that "the king is never prosperous even though he conquers the seven *dvīpas* who has an officer who does not call back the subjects when they

311. In Tanjore District.

312. 216 of 1917; *Rep.*, para 68.

313. In South Arcot District.

314. "The two records registering this state that the 98 sub-sections of these communities living in the districts on the northern bank of the Kāvēri, Mēr-kānāḍu, in Virudarājabhayaṅkaravaḷanāḍu, the 18 *parrus* of Iruṅgōḷapāṇḍi-vaḷanāḍu, etc., "having assembled in full numbers in the temple of Tūṅgāṇai-māḍam Uḍaiyār at Peṉṉādam *alias* Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa caturvēdimaṅgalam drafted a bond of union to the effect that if the *Pradhāni vaṉṉiyar* and the *Jīvitakkārar* used any coercive measures against them, if any landed proprietors among the *Brāhmaṇas* or the *Veḷḷāḷās* caused any harm to them through the revenue officials, if any of them submitted to unjust taxation or disseminated false tales or caused damage to documents (presumably formulating their communal rights) if any one in the *maṇḍalam* accepted service as an accountant or was guilty of *nāṭṭudrōham*, the assemblies of these communities shall, as on this occasion, meet and decide the form of punishment to be meted out to the offenders." (246 & 254 of 1928-29; *Rep.*, para 79.)

leave the state on account of suffering."[315] Thus during the time of Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyār the weavers of Perunagar left their district and migrated elsewhere on account of heavy taxation, even without paying the government dues. Hence the state reduced certain taxes payable by them and persuaded them to resettle in their territories.[316] In A.D. 1419 when Vīra Bhūpati Uḍaiyār was ruling over the area covered by the present South Arcot District the taxes payable by the Kaikkōḷas residing in the *tirumaḍai-viḷāgam* of the temple at Māriṅgūr were scaled down to the level obtaining at Iḍaiyāṟu, obviously for the reason that they weighed heavily on them.[317]

Again an inscription at Tiruvadi[318] dated in A.D. 1446 records that as the taxes *iṇavari* and *iḍaṅgaivari* collected from the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* communities were exhorbitant and the villagers were distressed and migrated to other places, the country became depopulated and the king sent an order to Nāgarasa Uḍaiyār authorising him to cancel all those taxes.[319] At the commencement of the sixteenth century, owing to oppressive taxes the inhabitants of the districts (*nāṭṭār*) of Magadai maṇḍalam left the country. To stop the migration, Tyāgaṇa Nāyaka, who was perhaps the local chief, granted a pledge (*aḍaiōlai*) to the people.[320]

Similarly Triṇētranātha Kaccirāyar, son of Paḷḷigoṇḍa Perumāḷ Kaccirāyar, who was the governor in the locality about Śrīmuṣṇam, revised the rates of taxes "which had become exhorbitant in the time when the country was in the hands of the Kaṇṇaḍiyas. The cultivators owing to oppression had dispersed and the *svarūpa* (?) was scattered. Triṇētranātha Kaccirāyar ordered that (1) the lands be measured year after year with the standard rod of 34 feet; (2) 15 *paṇams* (including all items of taxation) be levied on one *mā* of dry land and 20 *paṇams* on one *mā* of wet land; (3) towards *araśupēṟu* ⅛ *paṇam* be levied on each tenant, 3 *paṇams* on each loom of Śēṭṭis, 2 *paṇams* on Kammāḷa agriculturists, 3 *paṇams* on Kaikkōḷa weavers and (4) towards *iḍaituṟai* be collected ¼ *paṇam* on each cow, ½ *paṇam* on each buffalo

315. Canto IV, v. 237.
316. 370 of 1923.
317. 104 of 1935-6; *Rep.*, para 63.
318. South Arcot District.
319. 476 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 46. See also *Rep.* for 1907, para 55.
320. 422 of 1913.

and ¼ *paṇam* on eight sheep."[321] But even this new arrangement seems to have pressed heavily on the people. Hence they again left their villages to other places. Therefore Śiṉṉappa Nāyakkar, brother of *Vāśal* Ādiyappa Nāyaka, fixed favourable rates of assessment in Ś. 1435 (A.D. 1513-14).[322]

Ciṉṉappa Nāyaka of Tanjore in the year Svabhānu exempted the five classes of Kammāḷar, blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, architects and brass workers, from the payment of the taxes of *kāṇikkai, kaṭṭāyam, pākkukkaṭṭāyam* and *talaiyārikkam*, as they had decided to emigrate elsewhere when forced to pay them, owing to their inability to do so.[323] During the reign of Acyuta Rāya also the people of Madiyaṇi Vaḍaparṟu were taxed heavily, and such taxes were collected rigorously by an officer called Rāyappa Nāyakkar from his camp at Tiruppattūr. The residents were not able to pay the taxes, *kaḍamai* and *kāṇikkai*, due from their village. Hence a few of them sold their lands to the authorities of the temple of Tirupūvālaikuḍi Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār, while several families left the village being unable to pay their portion of the tax.[324]

Likewise the north-eastern portion of the Empire seems to have been oppressed by the officers. Hence the *gavuḍas* and other people of the Kavaṭāḷada śīme, unable to tolerate the injustice (*avanāya*) of the government officers, migrated to Masaveya śīme. Therefore the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Salakayadēva Cika Tirumalaṟāja Mahā arasu came personally to Āḍavāṇi in Ś. 1454, pacified the people, and induced them to reoccupy the Kavaṭāḷa district by offering them favourable terms of cultivation and occupation.[325] In A.D. 1533-34 the artisan classes in the Kaṅganipaḷḷe śīme migrated as a body from their original possessions to Pākala and Kuṇḍiripi śīmes owing to heavy taxation, and the government immediately interfered in the matter and remitted the taxes.[326]

321. 247 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 64.

322. The following were the details of the new arrangement. The permanent settlement of *kaḍamai, kāṇikkai, kuḍi, māḍukāṇikkai, puṟavari* and *viniyōgam* introduced by Śiṉṉappa Nāyaka fixed 28 *paṇams* on wet lands and 22 on dry lands for such residents as resided in the districts; 20 *paṇams* on wet lands and 15 *paṇams* on dry lands for those who were going and coming; and again 15 *paṇams* on wet lands and 10 on dry lands to those that lived outside. (*puṟakkuḍi*), (246 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 66).

323. 413 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1922, para 57.

324. *I.P.S.*, 748.

325. 492 of 1915; *Rep.*, 1916, para 69.

326. 340 of 1926; *Rep.*, para 43.

Nuniz comments on the nature of the revenue collections made under the Vijayanagar Emperors: "For this reason the common people suffer much hardship those who hold the lands being so tyrannical.....As already said, all the land belongs to the king and from his hand the captains hold it. They make it over to the husbandmen who pay nine-tenths to their lord; and they have no land of their own, for the kingdom belongs entirely to the king."[327] Nuniz appears to be wrong both in this calculation and in his statement that all lands belonged to the king. Sewell comments on this observation of the chronicler thus: "Whether true or not this statement, coming as it does from a totally external source, strongly supports the view often held that the ryots of South India were grievously oppressed by the nobles when subject to Hindu government. Other passages in both these chronicles each of which was written quite independently of the other confirm the assertion here made as to the mass of the people being ground down and living in the greatest poverty and distress."[328]

Sewell's remark is too sweeping. Though we have much strong epigraphical and literary evidence to show that the taxes were heavy during certain periods, and that the people then were pressed hard, such oppression may not have been continuous or universal. Complaints about heavy taxation and oppression by officials were due, as the inscriptions themselves say, to the occupation of the Kannaḍiyas. The period of the Sāḷuvas was one of oppression of the people in certain parts of the Empire when taxation was heavy, and was perhaps combined with rigorous collection. Later too, the people were oppressed more by the governors than by the imperial government as such. Such oppression was felt not due to the revenue so much as to the method of its collection. This is shown by a few inscriptions of the period. A lithic record at Tiruvāmāttūr[329] details the several taxes and contributions realised from the *devadāna* village and adds that the total annual value of these several taxes was only 12 *pons*. As the Government Epigraphist remarks, "this, if it could be taken as the average, suggests that the assessment of the several taxes in coin and contributions in kind must have adopted a very low rate."[329a]

327. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 373 and 79.

328. *Ibid.*, p. 379, *fn.* 2. See also *India Before the English*, by Sewell, pp. 36-58.

329. In South Arcot District.

329a. 32 of 1922; *Rep.*, para 45.

An inscription of A.D. 1414-15 at Perunagar[330] records the fixing of the amount of consolidated taxes from the weavers, oil-mongers and the other commercial classes in return for their burning a perpetual lamp in the local temple.[331] Another inscription in the Mulbagal taluk[332] registers that Muḷuvāyi Hariyappa gave to a merchant Śankapa Śeṭṭi a *śāsana* remitting the fixed rent of 2 *haṇa* he paid, besides many taxes, on condition he presented daily 2 betel leaves to the temple at Muḷuvāyi.[333] These inscriptions clearly prove that though the items of taxation payable in kind and cash were many, the burden of taxation was not much, for here we see a regular commutation of a variety of taxes, customary and otherwise, for comparatively small returns.

Thus side by side with the inscriptions which record the oppressive taxes, there are some others which show that taxation was not so very heavy under the Vijayanagar government. Yet it cannot be said that the Vijayanagar taxes conformed to the ancient proportion of one-sixth, for many of the kings took advantage of every opportunity to increase the revenues of the state, and collected their dues with the utmost rigour. But it has been the practice to exaggerate the oppressive character of the taxes imposed on the people. As observed earlier really the people were more opposed to the method of collection rather than the items of taxes or the burden of taxation.

Section VI

Expenditure

In most Hindu empires the cash expenditure of the government on account of administration was considerably small. The administration was conducted on traditional lines, and there was no necessity for payment in cash to all the officers of the state. They were generally paid in the shape of grants of *sarvamānyams* which they enjoyed without paying tax to the government, or certain taxes were made over to them. The humbler servants of the government were granted likewise service *ināms* and *mānyams* which, in addition, they

330. In Chingleput District.
331. 367 of 1923.
332. In Kolar District, Mysore State.
333. E.C., X, Mb. 20.

enjoyed tax-free as remuneration for their services. It is doubtful if the Vijayanagar kings did not try to maintain a huge naval force; and if they had one, it would have consumed a large portion of their financial resources. The right of policing (*pāḍikāval*) was largely leased out to the local people, who vied with one another for securing that right for themselves. This to some extent relieved the government of its responsibility to maintain a large police force to ensure peace and order in the country, and saved enormous expenditure on that account. The administration of justice also was to a large extent decentralised. Disputes both civil and criminal, were generally decided locally by extra judicial institutions like castemen and village elders, and rarely reached the royal court. Hence there was no regular gradation of courts of justice maintained by the government as at the present day. Likewise education too was largely a private concern in the medieval period. The state did not take elaborate measures for the organised spread of education among the people. Further a liberal education, as we understand it now, was not necessary in those days, for the choice of occupation was dependent on one's caste. Thus the government had no large expenditure on many welfare activities, as we understand them to-day.

A few items of expenditure, specially the military which consumed a large portion of the revenue, deserve consideration. In the *Āmuktamālyada* we read: "The expenditure of money which is utilised in buying elephants and horses, in feeding them, in maintaining soldiers, in the worship of Gods and Brahmans and in one's own enjoyment can never be called an expenditure."[334] What with the constant menace of wars with the Bahmani Sultans, the insubordination and rebellions of refractory feudal chiefs within the Empire, the expansion of the Empire on all sides, the Vijayanagar government had a large military expenditure. Nuniz notes that "of these sixty lakhs that the king has of revenue every year, he does not enjoy a larger sum than twentyfive lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses and elephants, and foot soldiers and cavalry whose cost he defrays."[335] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, for instance, purchased horses from the Arabs at competitive prices to strengthen his army. The Vijayanagar kings maintained a standing army at the capital and probably also at important strategic places in the Empire. It

334. Canto IV, v. 262.
335. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-4.

is not difficult to imagine what a large amount of recurring expenditure this item alone would have consumed. But it may be noted here in passing that this standing army of the kings was only a fraction of the huge armies, collected in times of war and composed of feudal levies, in addition.

The next large item of public expenditure was that on public endowments and charities. No temple escaped the attention of the kings, and no public institution failed to get their fostering care. Inscriptions are scattered throughout South India which record the benefactions of the Vijayanagar kings. They constructed new temples, renovated a large number of old ones, renewed grants already made, and instituted festivals and worship in temples. Many a time taxes were remitted in favour of temples for their maintenance and repair. According to the chronicle of Nuniz, Mallikārjuna granted to the pagodas a fifth part of the revenue of his kingdom.[336] Though the kings themselves were not always as learned as Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, they honoured learning and learned men. It was in the royal courts that scholars and philosophers of different schools of thought met to discuss their views on abstruse philosophical subjects, and held debates and discussions. The kings took interest in such discussions and honoured the scholars by granting them rich presents and tax-free villages.

The next charge on finance was irrigation and public works. The period of Vijayanagar supremacy was marked by the excavation of tanks, lakes, and large irrigation works for agricultural purposes. The kings prided themselves in undertaking and executing these great works of public utility. The allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting also received great encouragement under them.[337]

The harem of the kings consumed a considerable portion of the revenues of the state. Almost all the foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar did not fail to be struck by the number and riches of the harem. We have got exaggerated accounts about the number of women in the palace of the king. But there is no denying that the cost of maintaining such a harem must have been enormous. Further the age was one of splendeour and pageantry. Much money was wasted on dress, drinks, women and other unproductive expenditure which resulted in the drain of the public exchequer.

336. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
337. These are dealt with in later chapters.

In modern times, with the advance made in monetary system and the development of banking facilities, the need for hoarding precious metals, especially gold, is rapidly declining. But in ancient and medieval days the monetary systems were still in an under developed stage. Hence in those days, not only the people but the government too, hoarded precious metals. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in his *Āmuktamālyada* divides the king's income into four parts and says that one part should be used for extensive benefactions and for enjoyment, two parts for the maintenance of a strong army and one part added to the treasury.[338] That the Vijayanagar kings hoarded a large quantity of treasure is also testified to by Paes who describes how they hoarded wealth: "The previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or see what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya) has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings, and he puts in it every year ten million *pardaos* without taking from them one *pardao* more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him 12,000 women; from this you will be able to judge how great the treasure that this king has amassed."[339] The hoarding of money was a necessity in those days to meet large unforeseen demands when wars broke out. Also steps had to be taken to alleviate the sufferings of the people during times of distress.

There seem to have been two other treasuries besides this one where coins and money were hoarded. One was the Golden Treasury,[340] and the other the Diamond Treasury,[341] in which perhaps, gold and diamond respectively were deposited.

338. Canto IV, v. 238.
339. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
340. 380 of 1918; *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 172.
341. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389; 387 of 1920.

APPENDIX

Currency

With the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire the currency system in South India became well regulated. "The matrix was adopted to the exclusion of the punch. A uniform weight standard of the *pagodas* was introduced, the shape and metallic value of the different coins were fixed and the coinage in general was sub-divided into several denominations."[1]

It may, however, be noted that side by side with currency there were other articles which served as the media of exchange. Nicolo dei Conti says that in the region about Vijayanagar, gold, worked to a certain weight was used as money in the early part of the fifteenth century; in some parts pieces of iron worked into needles were used as currency, while in others stones, called the cats'-eyes, were used as the media of exchange.[2] Besides, as it still prevails in some parts of the country, money did not enter at all in trade transactions, for they were done to some extent by barter. Among the administrative reforms of Harihara II, one was with regard to the currency system. He issued an order that taxes must be paid in money instead of in kind. This made the use of money important and necessary and led to the minting of coins of different denominations. Though Kannaḍa was the language for the legends on the coins, Nāgari also was largely used. Many symbols were used on the coins which afford interesting material for a study of the political and religious conditions of the period.

A dynastic wise analysis of such symbols would show that the Vijayanagar kings, as also their feudatories, gradually became more and more devoted to Vaiṣṇavism. Harihara I and Bukka I, the founders of the Sangama dynasty adopted the Hanuman *lāñcana* on their coins. Harihara II, by whose time the Empire became consolidated on firm ground, issued coins with a variety of symbols like those of the Bull, Sarasvatī-Brahmā, Umāmahēś-

1. *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 107.
2. Major, *India*, p. 30.

vara and Lakṣminārāyaṇa. The later rulers of this dynasty introduced another symbol on their coins namely the elephant, or the elephant and king fighting. The introduction of the elephant symbol does not seem to have served any political or religious purpose. It was probably intended to bear evidence to the prestige of the king; and this is confirmed by the fact that Dēva Rāya II assumed the *biruda Gajabēṇṭakāra* and his coins show the king in combat with a wild elephant and finally overcoming it. The new symbols of Venkaṭēśa and Bālakṛṣṇa, which figure prominently on the coins of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and the symbol of *Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* on the coins of Acyuta Rāya throw welcome light on their growing leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism. Sadāśiva Rāya's *varāhas* have the symbols of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and Garuḍa reintroduced.[2a]

The first king of the Āravīḍu dynasty, Tirumala Rāya moved to the new capital Penukoṇḍa and, "he thus transferred himself and his empire from the protection of God Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar to the care of Rāmachandra". His *varāha* bears on the obverse the seated figure of Śrī Rāma, with Sītā to his left and Lakṣmaṇa standing behind the throne to the right. The Nāgarī legend on the reverse reads *Śrī Tirumalarāyalu*. As Krishna Sastri observes "subsequent to 1615, the last rulers of the decaying empire sought refuge in the great God of Tirupati and issued gold pieces in his name only". The other symbols that figure on the coins of Tirumala Rāya are the Conch and Discus, the Boar, the Elephant and the Bull.[2b]

It is the general theory of modern economists that only a rich country can afford to have a gold currency and that such currency cannot circulate in India in view of the general poverty of the people. But it deserves to be noted that in the Vijayanagar Empire the currency system was based on gold, though silver and copper coins were also in use. The coinage was divided into different varieties both in gold and copper. We get only stray references to silver as a unit of currency. According to the description of 'Abdur Razzāk the units of currency that were in circulation in the Empire during the time of his visit were as follows:—

2a. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1931, pp. 69-70. See also C. R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, pt. I, (Non-Muhammadan series) pp. 107-26.

2b. See *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1931, pp. 73-8.

Gold

1. *Varāha*
2. *Partāb*—1/2 *Varāha*
3. *Quarter Varāha*
4. *Fanam*—1/10 *Partāb.*

Silver

1. *Tār*—1/6 *Fanam.*

Copper

1. 1/3 *Tār.*

But this is a very meagre account of the currency system in the Empire for it is evident from the inscriptions of the period that there were in circulation a large number of coins of different denominations. They may be classified as follows:—

Gold

1. *Gadyāṇa, Varāha, Pon*, or *Pagoda*
2. *Pratāpa*
3. *Kāṭi*
4. *Paṇa*
5. *Hāga*

Silver

1. *Tāra*

Copper

1. *Paṇa*
2. *Jital*
3. *Kāśu.*

The *gadyāṇa* to which we get frequent reference in the Kannaḍa inscriptions appears to have been the same as the *varāha*, weighing about fifty to fifty-two grains in the Vijayanagar period though it seems to have been used to denote also a *honnu* or half of a *varāha*.[3] The name *varāha* and its weight seem to have come down from the Cāḷukyas, who had the *varāha lāñcana* or the boar device for their coinage and also the Kalacuris. In some of the coins were figured Durgā and Varāha or the boar. It was also called the *pagoda*, of which, descriptions are available in the writings of the foreign travellers who visited the Empire. Barbosa says that the

3. *E.I.*, VII, p. 130.

pardao was coined in certain cities of the kingdom of Narsyngua and that it was round and made in a mould. There appear to have been three varieties of the *varāha,* namely, *ghaṭṭivarāha,*[4] *doḍḍavarāha*[5] and *śuddhvarāha.* The last of them seems to have been the same as the ordinary *varāha* weighing about fifty-two grains. The relation between the *ghaṭṭivarāha* and the *śuddavarāha* is not known; but it appears the ratio between the *ghaṭṭivarāha* and the *pon* was 7 : 5. The *doḍḍavarāha* was double the ordinary *gadyāṇa* or *varāha*[6] both in its weight as also in its value. A good number of this variety is not available. But the one that is figured in Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* was issued by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and weighed 119·7 grains.[7] We get reference also to the *cakra-gadyāṇa, cakra-varāha* and *kāṭi-gadyāṇa.* We do not know what they signified; but they were possibly forms of the same coin issued at different times.[8] 'Abdur Razzāk mentions that a *gadyāṇa* was equal to ten *pons*[9] while Varthema mentions that it was equal to twenty *pons.* This leads us to the inference that the *gadyāṇa* referred to by Varthema was the double *gadyāṇa* or *doḍḍavarāha.* Barbosa thinks that the *pardao* (pagoda) was equal to three hundred and twenty *reis,*[10] while Paes says that it was equal to three hundred and sixty *reis.*[11] According to Barbosa the gold of the *pardao* was rather base.[12]

The *gadyāṇa* also appears to have been known as *hon* or *pon.* An inscription gives expression to the words *ga* 7 6 5 which is explained in words as seven *honnu* and five *haṇa,* the symbol being evidently introduced to separate the two denominations *honnu* and *haṇa.*[13] A *pon* was equal to a *devarāya pagoda,* a *varāha* or ten *paṇams.*[14] The *rēkhai pon* appears to have been the same as the *pon* mentioned above.[15]

4. *S.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 274 and 279.
5. *Ibid.*, VII. No. 108.
6. 198 of 1922; *Rep.* 1922, para 55.
7. Plate 3, No. 112.
8. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 262; VII, No. 298; see also *E.I.*, VIII, p. 130, *fn.* 1.
9. Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, iv, p. 109.
10. *Barbosa*, I, p. 191.
11. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
12. *Barbosa*, I, p. 204.
13. *E.C.*, VI, Mg. 48.
14. *T.T.D.I.*, V, pp. 155-7; *M.E.R.*, 1920; para 40; 172 of 1916; *A.S.R.* (South India) IV, p. 88 *fn.*
15. *Ibid.*, III, p. 350, No. 171.

The *pratāpa* or *partāb* appears to have been half of a *gadyāṇa*.[16] The *kāṭi* was probably also a gold coin of a smaller denomination and was one-fourth of a *varāha*. An epigraph of A.D. 1463 mentions that four *kāṭis* made one *varāha*.[17]

But the coin that was in large circulation was the *paṇam* or *haṇa*. It was one-tenth of the *pon* in value as may be inferred from many inscriptions, of which one mentions that 131 *pons* (*varāhas*) and 6¼ *paṇams* were equal to 1316¼ *paṇams*.[18] It weighed about 5·2 grains. We do not know if it was the same as the *rūka* which was also one-tenth of a *varāha*.[19] Next to the *paṇam* appears to have been a coin called *cinnam*[20] which, according to the *Inscriptions of the Nellore District* (Glossary), was one-eighth of a *pagoda*. There were also coins smaller than the *paṇa* that were in circulation. One of them was the *hāga* which was one-fourth of the *paṇa*.[21] This coin appears to have been known also as *kākiṇi*.[22] Another coin which was half the *hāga* was called the *bele*.[23]

The only silver coin of which we hear in the Vijayanagar period was the *tār* which 'Abdur Razzāk says was one-sixth of a *paṇam*.[24] But Mahuan mentions a coin called *taurh* which was one-fifteenth of a *paṇam*,[25] while Varthema refers to a coin called *tare* equal to one-sixteenth of a *paṇam*.[26] These two latter coins appear to have been the same while the *tare* of 'Abdur Razzāk could have been a coin of a higher denomination.

We have practically no knowledge about the copper coins during the period, though there must have been a few among them. Of them mention may be made of the *paṇam*, *jital* and *kāśu*. Among the other coins of smaller denominations appear to have been the *paikam*, *damma* and *cāvala*. The exact value of these coins is not known. There was, besides, a copper *tāra* which was one-third of a *paṇam* or two cash.

16. *Ind. Ant.*, XX, Nos. 7 and 8 *E.C.*, XI, Mk. 31.
17. *E.C.*, VIII, Ng. 69.
18. 172 of 1916.
19. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 100.
20. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 274.
21. *E.I.*. IX, p. 267.
22. See *E.C.*, IV, p. 31.
23. *Ibid.*, IV, Hg. 61.
24. Major, *India*, p. 26.
25. *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 344.
26. *Varthema*, p. 130.

Besides these coins, the currencies of foreign countries were also in circulation in parts of the Empire, particularly in places where the foreign merchants had settled. The Portuguese coin that was in circulation in the country was the *cruzado*. There were two varieties of it, the full and the half, the former weighing about 60 gr. or 4 sh. 10·5 d.[27] The gold *dinar* of Egypt was 9 sh. 9 d. The *real* was a very small coin and was about 28 d.[28] The *florin* was a Florentine unit of currency which may be valued at 9 sh. 4·8561 d. of English money.[29] The *ducat* was a Venetian coin worth about 9 sh. 2·84 d. The *larin* which was in shape like a small rod of silver of the size of the pen of a goose feather was one-sixth of a *ducat;* and one *larin* was equal to about half a *guilder*.[30]

Care was taken to see that there was no debasement of currency and the fineness of gold in the coins was assured.[31] An inscription, for instance, mentions gold of three kinds of fineness 8, 8½ and 9. It is interesting to note that usually the money was paid in the presence of the village goldsmith who examined the fineness of the coins with the help of the touch stones kept for the purpose.[32] The goldsmiths were also the money-changers of the period, about whom we have an excellent description in the writings of Varthema. Referring to them at Calicut, he says: "The money-changers and bankers of Calicut have some weights, that is, balance, which are so small that the box in which they stand and the weights together do not weigh half an ounce; and they are so true that they will turn by a hair of the head. And when they wish to test any piece of gold, they have carats of gold as we have; and they have the touch stone like us. And they test after our manner. When the touch stone is full of gold, they have a ball of a certain composition which resembles wax, and with this ball when they wish to see if the gold be good or poor, they press on the touch-stone, and then they see in the ball of the goodness of the gold, and they say: *"idu nannu, idu aga"*, that is, "this is good and this is poor". And when that ball is full of gold, they melt it, and take out all the gold which they have tested by the touchstone.

27. *Barbosa*, I, p. 65, *fn.* 1.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 156 and *fn.* 1.
29. Yule, *Cathay*, iv, p. 58.
30. *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVII, p. 238.
31. The inscriptions of the period refer to *vāśapaḍāta nārpaṇam* (239 of 1906).
32. *S.I.I.*, II, No. 71; 494 of 1921.

The said money changers are extremely acute in their business."[33] Vasco da Gama also refers to them in the following words: "The overseer of the treasury then sent for a changer, weighed it all, and proved it with his touchstones which they carry for that purpose, and with which they are very clever, and they set a value on each coin."[34]

Mint

The central mint was an important department of administration. 'Abdur Razzāk says that the usage of the country was that at a stated period every one throughout the whole Empire carried to the mint the revenue (*zar*) which was due from him and whoever had money due to him from the Exchequer received an order upon the mint.[35] Though the issue of currency was a monopoly of the State which issued as far as possible coins of particular denominations, we get reference to a multiplicity of coins as having been current in the Vijayanagar period. Barbosa refers to the minting of *pardaos* in many towns in the kingdom.[36] Thus we hear of *śakkarapaṇam*,[37] *vāḷāl vaḷi tirandān kuḷiśai paṇam*[38] and others. From the provincial seats of Bārakūr and Maṅgalūr were issued a few *gadyāṇas*.[39] Likewise Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, viceroy under Dēva Rāya II issued coins in his own name.[40] Not only that; private individuals were granted the right of issuing coins and owning private mints.[41] Thus the *nakara parivāras* appear to have been empowered to issue coins.[42] Such local currencies seem to have been in use only in the localities concerned, and hence gave difficulty to the people. Caesar Frederick who had bitter experience of this system remarks about it: "When we come into a new governor's territory as every day we did, although they were all tributarie to the king of Bizenager, yet every one of them stamped a small coyne of copper so that the money we took this day would not serve the next day".[43]

33. *Varthema*, p. 168.
34. Vasco da Gama, *Three Voyages*, p. 11.
35. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 109.
36. *Barbosa*, I, p. 204.
37. *I.P.S.*, No. 751.
38. *Ibid.*, No. 699.
39. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08; pp. 237-38; *E.I.*, VIII, p. 130. *fn.* 1.
40. *M.E.R.*, 1905, para 31.
41. *M.A.R.*, 1929, Cp. 90.
42. Elliot, *Coins of South India*, No. 78.
43. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.

Chapter IV

LAW, JUSTICE AND POLICE

Section I

Law

In the modern sense of the term law means a body of rules and regulations made by the sovereign authority for the society over which it exercises control. But laws in Hindu India had a different character. The term 'Hindu Law' conveys a thousand things to the Hindu mind. The vast number of prescriptions and prohibitions which have governed Hindu life through the centuries holding it steadfast against the disintegrating forces of heterodoxy, cannot by any means constitute positive law. There was really very little of positive law among the Hindus, and whatever there happened to be was closely interwoven with religion and ethics. It was ultimately subordinate to the Sacred Law, which was believed to be of divine origin. *Dharma* — the Sacred Law — as the bed-rock of Hindu society was a nice compound of tradition, custom, religion, morals, local practices, current sanctions and immediate necessity. The concern of *Dharma* was the individual as part of the cosmos; and owing to a concomitant belief that things were preordained by *Karma*, it came to define every man's station and his duties in that definite context. And the pursuit of *Dharma* signified a way of life in this world for the attainment of the ideal one in the life after death. The state in ancient India operated as an integral part of this texture of *Dharma*, and indeed was considered verily its instrument. It was thus that the structure, form and functions of government and administration were wholly permeated by the concept of *Dharma*. Thus *vyavahāra* or law as a separate branch does not find treatment in ancient Indian literature.

The ancient Indian scriptures were not only expositions but sources of *Dharma* as well, and among them the Vedas hold the prime place. "They contain disconnected statements on various aspects of *Dharma*, and so the beginning of law may be traced back to the period of the Vedas." There were then the *Dharma Śāstras, Dharma Sūtras, Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas;* and in a sense the

entire literature of ancient India might be said to spring from the basic urge for *Dharma*. The scriptures, thus, try to regulate the life of the Hindus and stipulate punishments for lapses from the duties prescribed for them. The injunctions are made in definite contexts and *Dharma* itself was relative to *yoga, varṇa* and *āśrama*, and a residuary discretion ultimately vesting with the individual to meet unforeseen contingencies. In course of time, thus, there inevitably evolved several ramifications of *Dharma* like *Rāja dharma, Āpad dharma*, etc., to mention only a few. The *Dharma Śāstras*, as we have them are compendiums of all these varieties of *Dharma* and a few works like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya or the *Śāntiparva* section of the *Mahābhārata* specially concern themselves with *Rājadharma*. To the student of Hindu political and legal institutions it is these works as well as the *Rājadharma* and *Vyavahāra* portions of the *Dharmaśāstra* that are of immediate importance.

In determining the nature of laws in India, their codifiers and and commentators took into account the immemorial customs (*sadācāra*) prevalent among the people and the practices and observances of the different social groups in their daily activities. Hindu society has grown with time and hence diversity is one of its principal features. It consists of different types of social groups, each with its own laws to govern and guide its day to day life and conduct. Since the codes were based on the practices of the people their authors had to recognise the various customary laws of different communities. Thus it was taken for granted that "the conventions of a people conversant with *Dharma* had authority; also the Vedas".[1] But a customary law could have the sanction of law only when it does not conflict with the scriptural law or the sacred law of the land. Should there be a conflict, the latter is to prevail. That customs change among a people with the advance of time is indicated by new interpretations or applications given to written laws by later commentators. Such commentaries were necessary for the exposition of the fundamental laws in the light of the experience of the society. As Dr. Jolly remarks, "the latest stage of Indian legal literature is formed by the commentaries and systematic works which have been developed from the Smṛtis from the early medieval age. As the products of a new age and inspired by mighty princes and ministers these extensive compilations gra-

1. See S. Varadachariar, *The Hindu Judicial System*, p. 36.

dually drove the Smrtis so completely out of vogue that at the time of the establishment of British rule in India the *Mitākṣara*, a law compendium of the eleventh century, was the standard work in the greater part of India."[2] Another of such commentaries is the *Parāśaramādhavīyam*, a commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* by Mādhava, the value of which for an examination of the judicial organisation under the Vijayanagar kings we shall discuss subsequently.

Such were the sources of Hindu laws. Since they were not made by man, he could not change or alter them, but he was only to obey their behests. The state, as the instrument of power had only to enforce the laws. The Hindu king, who was the supreme head of the state, was himself no law-maker. He was as much subject to the laws as any other person. As the medium through which the laws operated, the king's duty was to enforce the existing laws on his subjects.

The importance of the application of *daṇḍa* or punishment has been brought out with remarkable force by Manu. He says: "It is *daṇḍa* that rules the subjects, it is only *daṇḍa* that protects all people; *daṇḍa* is awake when others sleep; hence according to the learned *daṇḍa* is *Dharma* itself."[2a] The value of *daṇḍa* was well understood by the Vijayanagar kings. As said earlier Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says in his *Āmuktamālyada*: "The wife's attachment to her husband, the proper relations between men and women, the ascetic subduing his *indriyas*, the lower castes showing deference to the higher, the servant looking carefully to the interests of the master, you should know that all these are brought about (ultimately) by the fear of the king's punishment."[3] For enforcing laws the king should possess enormous powers. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya continues: "It is essential that a king should enforce his commands. Even the Ābhīras and the Bhillas of the forest are able to enforce their orders as by the sign of the arrow and the piece of thread. Much more therefore is it necessary that an emperor (*Sārvabhauma*) should be able to enforce his commands."[4]

2. *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 3.

2a. *Manu*, VII, 18.

3. Canto, IV, v. 277.

4. *Ibid.*, v. 206. It was the practice among the forest tribes to issue a pass, without which it was difficult for them to go from one place to another.

According to the Vijayanagar kings the primary duties of the state were the preservation of society and the prevention of the conflict of interests between the various castes and communities in the empire. These could be achieved by following the precept of *Dharma*. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya explains how it is necessary that *Dharma* should be adhered to. He says: "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *Dharma*.....skilfully fulfilling your *Dharma* you get rid of your three-fold debt". And in another place he remarks: "If, when a king is bestowing equal attention to the *vargas, dharma* (religion), *artha* (wealth) and *kāma* (love) by chance he shows more attention to *dharma,* it would be like allowing surplus water intended to irrigate other fields to overflow and fertilize cornfields. It would only conduce to the enjoyment of the sovereign."[5] Doubts may arise as to the sin involved in ruling an empire. But Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya has a ready answer to dispel this doubt, and he says that if a king acts in the public interests and in doing his work inflicts punishments on the offenders, he is only following the path of *Dharma* and not incurring any sin.[6] "Curiously enough a man is said to be a follower of *Dharma* though he kills (wrong-doers), one is called a bachelor, *Brahmacāri,* (though he takes a wife if he is moderate in his love); one is called a truthful man though he utters falsehood (in the special circumstances permitted by the *Dharma*); he is said to fast though he eats (if he is moderate); one is called a hero though he turns back (from those whom he ought not to fight); one is called rich though he spends money (for worthy objects)."[7]

We get some idea of certain specific laws like the law of treason, the law of limitation and the law governing the enjoyment of service *inams* in the Vijayanagar days. Firstly, treason against the state or the king was considered a heinous offence,[8] and more than that treason against associations (*saṅghas*) and the community as a whole (*samudāya*) was very much detested. This was accepted even by the ruling sovereigns. Bukka I, who brought

5. *Ibid.*, IV, vv. 285 and 282.
6. *Ibid.*, v. 284.
7. *Ibid.*, v. 278.
8. A record of the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya states that he who violated the grant referred to in it was to be deemed a traitor to the feet of the king. (*M.A.R.*, 1918, para 110). According to another record of A.D. 1371 a person who did not pay for the expenses of worship in a particular temple was to be looked upon as a traitor conspiring to murder the king of the very *nāḍu* in which he was born. (*E.C.*, I, 2nd Edition, p. 55).

about a compromise between the Jainas and the Vaiṣṇavas in A.D. 1368, declared: "He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the king, a traitor to the *saṅgha* and the *samudāya*."[9] The punishment for such treason was immediate execution. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists upon men of a treasonous nature being immediately executed.[10] This was the original idea of the law of treason.

But the people at times formed themselves into associations to oppose the tyranny of the ruling sovereigns or their agents, and considered it treason against the country if the people submitted to "petty coercion and oppression" by the government. It has been noted that according to a record at Vṛddhācalam[11] the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* sects of the place met together and decided that since they were oppressed by the officers of the king and the owners of *jīvitas*, and taxes were demanded of them by the Brahmans and the *Kāṇiyāḷan*, they should not give shelter to them or write accounts for them, and also declared that one who acted against their agreement was a traitor to the country and hence was to be stabbed. Reference has also been made earlier to another inscription from Peṇṇāḍam[12] according to which the ninety-eight subsections of the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* classes living in certain districts reached an agreement not to submit to unjust taxation among other things, and to declare some acts as constituting *nāṭṭudrōham* and punish them accordingly. Though the term *nāṭṭudroham* is not defined here, it is implied that the doing of particular acts may be held to amount to treason against the country and may be punished accordingly. Thus the interpretation of the law of treason differed with the body or authority that had to do it. While the king and the government considered an act like not conforming to a rule or not following a law as amounting to treason against the king and the people, the people who had certain grievances against the government were of opinion that to obey the government which did not care for the interests of the governed amounted to treason against the community, which according to them was of a graver nature than treason against constituted authority.

9. *E.C.*, II, Sb. 344.
10. *Āmukta, canto*, IV, v. 243.
11. In South Arcot District; 92 of 1918; *Rep.*, 1918, para 63.
12. In South Arcot District; see *ante*, pp. 93-4 and *f.n.* 246 and 254 of 1928-29; *Rep.*, para 79.

In the modern day, it is said that after a period of twelve years one's claim to a property, if it is in the possession of another, becomes debarred by the law of limitation. Almost the same law prevailed in the Vijayanagar days. Mortgaged lands could be in the name of the mortgagee only for a period of twelve years. In Ś. 1565, one Siddha Rāmappa Nāyaka, a subordinate of Śrī Raṅga III issued an order that the *Kāpus*, who had held any temple or Brahman lands on "mortgage by possession" (*bhōga-āyakam*), should restore the lands to the original owners after twelve years of enjoyment without demanding any money from them, giving them at the same time written deeds (*bhōga patra*) recording the reconveyance. The order was issued with the consent of the Reḍḍis, *Karṇams* and the other people of the place (*sthala*). As the Government Epigraphist remarks, "the legislation appears evidently to have been made as a remedy against the conveyance by the owners of these lands for long periods to the *Kāpus* in consideration of the loans paid on such usufructory mortgages decidedly favourable to the mortgagee. Even now the temple lands in many cases are mortgaged under similar conditions to the great disadvantage and detriment of the charities intended by their original donors."[13]

An inscription at Tiruppukuḻi[14] dated in A.D. 1438-39 discloses certain interesting details about the law concerning the inalienable nature of service *ināms*. According to it lands granted as service *ināms* were to be neither sold nor mortgaged by the parties who received them, but if they should violate the law they would suffer the punishment like traitors to the king and the community, and in addition they were liable to be fined by the officers of the temple treasury.

Section II

Courts of Justice

Having described the nature of the laws of the Hindus and how far the Vijayanagar kings adhered to their spirit, we may examine here the judicial organisation in the period. The first problem that presents itself to us is how far the courts and laws of the Hindus that were in existence in ancient India were allowed

13. 691 of 1917; *Rep.*, 1918, para 77.
14. Chingleput District; 193 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 60.

to continue during the Vijayanagar period. Wilson who examined this question came to the conclusion that the regulations that were made for and followed in the ancient Hindu courts could be assigned "to a period not long subsequent to the Code of Manu, if not contemporary."[15] In this connection the views of Mountstuart Elphinstone are also of great interest. Speaking about the administration of justice in his own days he says: "The regular administration of justice by permanent courts which is provided for in Manu and of which the tribunals with their several powers are recorded by later writers, is hardly observed by any Hindu government. The place of those tribunals is in part taken by commissions appointed in a summary way by the prince, generally granted by motives of court favour and often composed of persons suited to the object of the protecting courtier. In part, the courts are replaced by bodies of arbitrators, called Panchayets....."[16] But there are some who hold a different view on this question. They think that the ancient Hindu courts continued to remain in force during the Vijayanagar period as well. On this subject a recent writer has certain interesting observations to make. Referring to the *Parāśaramādhavīyam* of Mādhava, he says, that that treatise though purporting to be a part of Mādhava's commentaries on *Praāśarasmṛti*, is not really based on that *Smṛti*, for Parāśara did not treat of law at all; that Mādhava supplied the omission by collecting what was said on the subject in the other *Smṛtis*, and that his dissertation is a digest of jurisprudence based on those *Smṛtis*. He adds that Mādhavācārya had a great part in laying the foundations of the Vijayanagar Empire at the commencement of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and since at that time the Muslims had not yet succeeded in extending their rule to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, we may fairly presume that the procedure which he describes in his work was in use in his time in South India at any rate.[17]

But it is difficult to accept these conclusions. It is true that the *Parāśarasmṛti* contains no section dealing with *Vyavahāra* and Mādhava supplied the omission by adding a section on *Vyavahāra*

15. Mill, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 213 *fn.*

16. *History of India*, 9th Edn. pp. 90-91; See also Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 490-500 for an interesting disquisition on the *Hindu Courts of Justice.*

17. J. Ramayya Pantulu, *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, pp. 105-106.

to his commentary using for this supplement the works of ancient authors containing sections on law. But he does not seem to have drawn any inference from or made any use of the current practices of his day. The authors whom he largely quotes and makes use of are also ancient, though a few of them might have been posterior to Parāśara. It is a fact that the writing of this treatise coincided in point of time with the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire in which he had a large share. But Mādhava did not write this legal treatise on substantive and adjective law for the practical guidance of the Vijayanagar sovereigns. He was not the Kauṭilya of the Vijayanagar court.

In dealing with adjective law Mādhava, on the authority of Bṛhaspati, divides, for instance, regular courts as stationary and circuit, and courts presided over by the king, and courts presided over by judges appointed under the king's seal. Ramayya Pantulu thinks that the kings as a rule presided over the supreme courts in person, and that they appointed judges to preside over the provincial courts, over which they could not themselves preside.[18] But these recommendations do not appear to have been followed in the Vijayanagar court. There is no evidence to show that there were circuit courts then. Further, we have good evidence to indicate that the provincial governors held their own courts in their respective areas and dispensed justice as the king did at the capital, irrespective of the fact whether there was a judge holding his court in the same place or not.

Mādhava, on the authority of Kātyāyana, divides the day into eight parts, and suggests that courts were to be held in the second, third and fourth parts of the day.[19] But Nuniz says that the king came to the public court only at about 10 or 11 a.m.[20] We have to infer that at Vijayanagar the courts were held only at noon and not in the morning hours as enjoined in the *Parāśaramādhavīya*.

18. Pratiṣṭhitā apratiṣṭhitā mudritā śāstritā tathā |
Caturvidhā sabhāproktā sabhyāścaiva tathāvidhāḥ ||
Pratiṣṭhitā purēgrāmē calā nāmā pratiṣṭhitā |
mudritā adhyakṣa samyuktā rājayuktā ca śāstritā ||

Parāśaramādhavīyam, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. III, pp. 18-19 and *Q.J.A.H.R.S.*, II, p. 108.

19. Divasasyāṣṭhamam bhāgam muktā kālatrayañcayat |
sakālo vyavahārāṇām śāstra dṛṣṭaḥ paraḥ smṛtaḥ ||

Ibid., p. 18; *Q.J.A.H.S.*, II, p. 109.

20. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

Thus the available evidence shows that judicial organisation in Vijayanagar deviated in many respects from the prescriptions in Mādhava's *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*. For what we know, time alone may have ushered some changes in the system. In the light of such difficulties one has to handle the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* of the *Parāsaramādhavīya* with great caution for a study of the judicial system in the Vijayanagar Empire.

We have no reliable source for a detailed study of the machinery of the Vijayanagar judicial administration. Inscriptions of the period refer to certain crimes committed by the people and record how they were punished. The chroniclers also help us only in forming some idea of the administration of criminal justice in the Empire. We do not know exactly how civil suits involving the determination of law were decided. Civil cases seem to have been decided largely by arbitration, though one hears also of special judges for deciding such cases at the capital. On this subject the observations of Sir H. S. Maine are of interest: "Though the Brahminical written law assumes the existence of king and judge, yet at the present moment in some of the best governed semi-independent Native States, there are no institutions corresponding to our courts of justice. Disputes of a civil nature are adjusted by the elders of each village community, or occasionally when they relate to land, by the functionaries charged with the collection of the Prince's revenue. Such criminal jurisdiction, as is found, consists in the interposition of the military power to punish breaches of the peace of more than ordinary gravity. What must be called criminal law is administered through the arm of the soldier."[21] Though this statement may have been true of the period when he wrote his book, it cannot be applied to the Vijayanagar days; for in those days, not the soldier but only the king or some other body or person was invested with administrative authority in criminal law.

As in all monarchical empires, in the Vijayanagar Empire too, the king was the chief judge. But it would appear that he did not dispense justice personally in all the cases that came before his court. There was a judge who administered justice on behalf of the king. It is about this officer that 'Abdur Razzāk writes: "A eunuch called *Danāik* sits alone upon a raised platform, and

21. *Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 71.

presides over the administration; and below it the mace bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace bearers, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground, and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievances. Upon this the *Danāik* issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance."[22] This description by the Persian ambassador shows that there was a judge at the capital for dispensing justice. And on this Saletore remarks: "The *Danāik* of 'Abdur Razzāk was evidently a *daṇṇāyaka* or military commander; and if we are to rely on the evidence of the Persian Ambassador, the Vijayanagara monarchs entrusted the duty of administering justice to an officer of the army, or to one who had seen service as a general. If this were really the case, no graver error could have been committed by the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara, since such a procedure would have meant the violation of one of the most important injunctions of the ancient lawgivers in regard to the administration of justice ..... A *daṇḍanāyaka* or military commander was in no sense a substitute for a Brahman learned in the Smṛtis. ..... The fact that 'Abdur Razzāk is positive about the name of the high dignitary who administered justice makes one suspect that the rulers of Vijayanagara had indeed acted, at least in the important question of the composition of what may be called the court of chief justice, contrary to the classical notions of *daṇḍa*."[23] But it must be noted here that the term *Daṇḍanāyaka* was not necessarily a military title. In the Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagar Empires that title was assumed by one who had certain important administrative functions to discharge, and it indicated a cadre to which a particular person belonged. The title was applied also to a military commander, but not all *Daṇḍanāyakas* were officers of the army, or those who had seen service as generals. From such similarity of titles it is not right to conclude that "the rulers of Vijayanagara had acted contrary to the classical notions of *daṇḍa*."

That the *Pradhāni* was generally the chief judge is indicated by 'Abdur Razzāk. Describing the judge holding his court 'Abdur Razzāk speaks of him also as the minister of the king: "When the *Danāik* leaves the chamber several coloured umbrellas are borne before him ..... Before he reaches the king he has to

22. Elliot, *History of India*, IV, p. 108.
23. *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, p. 369.

pass through seven gates ..... He reports upon the affairs of the state to the king and after remaining some time returns."[24] Unless the judge had certain ministerial functions, he would not have gone to the king "to report upon the affairs of the state." Sāḷuva Timma, the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, took the title *Dharmapratipālakaḥ*[25] which would indicate that he had certain judicial functions, and was perhaps the chief judge at the capital. Corroborating this is a Jesuit letter describing the judicial organisation at the Madura court; and in the Vijayanagar days it was the imperial system that was generally followed both in the provinces and in the *Nāyaka's* territories. Proenza in his letter of A.D. 1665 writer: "The Pradhani did not consider the rival plaints..... The examination was public ..... He sent for the governor, judges and all the great personages to come to the palace immediately. He came in great pomp ..... The governor intimidates the witnesses and compels them to depose according to his wishes ..... All the procedure was sent to Madura from where the judgment came soon."[26] This letter confirms that the *Pradhāni* had control over the judicial department. In another instance the Madura Nāyaka Vīrappa and his *Pradhāni* Ariyanātha Mudaliyār constituted a panel to decide a certain case.[27]

However, the Persian ambassador's statement that there was only one judge at the capital, is not wholly reliable. John Nieuhoff says that under the Madura Nāyaks each village had two judges, who were much respected by the inhabitants.[28] If according to him each village had two judges, it is difficult to believe that there could have been only one judge at the capital of the vast Empire of Vijayanagar.

But the existence of a separate court presided over by a judge or a panel of judges did not preclude the king from dispensing justice himself. The king also received complaints from his people and disposed of them. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's views on the duties of the king with regard to the administration of justice are contained in his *Āmuktamālyada*, in which he says: "Be always intent upon

24. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 108.
25. *E.C.*, IX, Ma. 11.
26. Bertrand, *La Mission Du Maduré*, III, pp. 178-81, quoted by R. Satyanathier, in his *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 242.
27. 582 of 1926, *Rep.*, 1927, para 92.
28. Satyanathier, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

protecting your subjects; when you hear complaints from people in distress, hear them and redress their sufferings. Do not entrust your affairs to mean persons."[29] The Emperor personally dispensed justice in a few cases. When he received complaints about certain irregularities of managment in respect of daily worship in the Tiruvālūr temple he ordered the dismissal of the culpable servants of the temple.[30] Sometimes the king asked the officers by his side to try the cases presented to him. Once when the *Mahājanas* made representations with regard to a dispute between two parties of residents of Koṇḍagai in the Ramnad District to king Sadāśiva Rāya while he was camping in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in A.D. 1545-46, the king directed the matter to be settled by the arbitration of learned men in the presence of Sāḷuva Nāyaka as a result of which remissions of certain taxes were granted to the village of Tiruvēṅgaḍapuram.[31] But in particular cases it appears that appeals could not be taken to the king directly but only through some officer. Thus it is stated in an inscription that the trustees in charge of the temple treasury of Tiruvāmāttūr petitioned to Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya through Karaṇikkam Maṅgaraśayyar and Sāḷuva Ariyava Nāyakkar.[32] It is difficult to know exactly what the two officers did in the appeal. Perhaps as provincial governors they recommended the case for final appeal to the king; or it was simply an appeal from the provincial court to the imperial court.

Commenting on the system under which the king acted as the judge Saletore expresses the view that there must have been some confusion in the judicial organisation in Vijayanagar: "According to the Persian ambassador it is the *daṇṇāyaka* who constituted the highest judicial official in the kingdom; in the opinion of Nuniz the king gave a sort of rough and ready dispensation of justice, independent of the *daṇṇāyaka*. Nothing but confusion would have resulted if this were really the case in Vijayanagara."[33] It must however be noted that the king and the judge may have tried different sets of cases. At times the king in Council would have acted as a court of appeal and at others as a court with original jurisdiction in certain cases. Further it is reasonable to

29. Canto IV, v. 205.
30. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 155.
31. 2 of 1923; see also Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
32. 13 or 1922.
33. *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 370-71.

assume that the king would have tried criminal cases and cases in which certain special interests like those of a temple or a high dignitary were involved, while the judge tried other civil cases.

Nuniz condemns the laws that obtained in the Vijayanagar Empire: "No law is possible in the country where these pagodas are, save only the law of the Brahmans, which is that of the priests."[34] Such a downright condemnation is quite unfair. It is true that often the kings had to consult the Brahmans who were obviously the only men who had a correct knowledge of the laws prevailing in the country. Petty criminal cases may have been decided by the rulers themselves "without much ado" on the spot. But in cases of a complicated nature they could not but consult the Brahmans. This, however, should not lead one to conclude that the law was that of the Brahmans or the priests.

Constituted on the same lines as the court of law at the capital where the kings dispensed justice personally, there were lower courts of various grades in the Empire, in which justice was administered. The provincial courts were presided over by the king's agents or governors, who in the name and on behalf of the king decided cases that came up before them. For instance, according to a record from Āragaḷūr[34a] one Tirumalai Nāyaka, governor of the province in which the village was situated, made a decision regarding the right of worship in the temple of Tirukkāmīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār.[35] Likewise when a dispute arose between the *Agrahārikas* and the *Karṇams* of the village of Avuḍūru in respect of the distribution of certain service *inām* lands, one Anuguṇḍa Veṅgaḷappa, most probably an officer of the imperial government, settled the question by redistributing the lands under dispute among the two parties, after classifying them into good, bad and medium.[36]

In the outlying parts of the Empire, besides regular courts of justice, there were certain popular courts which dispensed justice, acting within their jurisdiction. For instance, village assemblies, temple trustees and caste elders had courts of their own. For the obvious reason that custom differed from place to place and

34. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-05.
34a. In the Salem District.
35. 413 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1914, para 26.
36. *M.E.R., C.P.*, 11 of 1912-13.

its subtleties and implications could be appreciated only by the local people there was the need for such courts. The difficulties and expenses involved in carrying litigation to the capital or the headquarters of local divisions also would justify the existence of such popular courts. Thus it is that in the Vijayanagar period there were village courts, presided over by the village *Mahājanas*, caste courts presided over by caste elders, courts presided over by temple trustees and courts of the guilds presided over by their leading men. These courts had all the judicial and magisterial authority of a regular court.

A record at Āvaḍaiyārkōyil[36a] shows how the village assemblies discharged their judicial functions. The assembly of that village made a gift of two pieces of land as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the temple of Śōḷa Pāṇḍya Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉār at Tirupperunduṟai, which had been confiscated by them from a certain Āṇḍān Piḷḷai of Tirupputtūr on account of some default or wrong on his part.[37] When the village assemblies decayed the *āyagārs* as a body took their place and discharged their functions, and thus enjoyed some judicial powers. Thus when a dispute arose between one Annadāna Gauḍa and Ciga Mudhaiya regarding the role of *gauḍika* in a particular village in the Anantapur District, the case was presented before the *Dharmāsana* (village court), consisting of the chief men of the village and the twelve village servants (*āyagār*). They decided in favour of Ciga Mudhaiya, and the decision was accepted by Sarājayapparāja, the chief of Harati, and the *gauḍika* was conferred on Mudhaiya. The procedure adopted in this case shows that though the village officers were allowed to decide cases, it was the superior officer of the locality that had to give effect to the decision.[38] An undated inscription at Koṭṭaiyūr[38a] gives some details about the settlement of a dispute among certain castes. The record is defaced, but we can learn from it that it records the settlement of a dispute between certain sects of the potters of Koṭṭaiyūr in Kāṉanāḍu *alias* Virudarājabhayaṅkara Vaḷanāḍu; the settlement was brought about by an assembly which included, besides the blood relations of the disputants, the residents of the district, the (temple) trustees and the artisans of the place; it was, thus, a representative gathering.[39]

36a. In Tanjore District.
37. 509 of 1925.
38. *M.E.R.*, C.P. 19 of 1916-1917.
38a. Tiruchirapalli District.
39. *I.P.S.*, 915.

The judicial functions of the temple authorities are well shown by a Neyvāśal[39a] inscription. It records their trying a case of theft of temple jewel and awarding punishment. The temple authorities also ratified the sale of the culprit's lands to make up the loss of the stolen jewel.[40]

In those days special officers were appointed to supervise the working of the temples, and whenever disputes arose in them, these officers conducted enquiries and decided them. One Viṭṭappar of Ānegōṇḍi, when he was appointed the king's officer in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple, had to decide a serious dispute arising there. When he took charge of his office "he found that the *Padiyilār*, the *Iṣabhattaḷiyilār* and the *Dēvaraḍiyār* had struck work in that temple and that two previous attempts at reconciling their differences made in the fifth year of Rājanārāyaṇan Śambuvarāyaṉ by the *Mudaliyār* of Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr (Cidambaram), and subsequently by the trustees, had proved abortive. Viṭṭappar now enquired the Vīraśōḷa aṇukkar and the Kaikkōḷar for the cause of this strike, and having called together a meeting of the *Śrīrudras, Śrīmāhēśvaras,* the *Iṣabhattaḷiyilār* and the *Dēvaraḍiyār* in the *Vyākaraṇadānamaṇṭapa* of the temple and settled the order to be followed by them in the matter of temple service. However, the question was not finally settled; for three years later (in Ś. 1293) under orders of Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, they had to meet again in the same *maṇṭapa* presided over this time by the officer Tuṇaiyirunda nambi Koṅgarāyar. More representatives than on the previous occasion gathered including the trustees and the district representatives (*nāṭṭārs*), and the question was decided not only as between the *Iṣabattaḷiyilār* and the *Dēvaraḍiyār*, but concerned also indirectly the *Śokkattaḷiyilār, Muṭṭukkārar, Vīraṇukkar* (Vīraśōḷa aṇukkar mentioned already) and the *Kaikkōḷar*, all of whom must have been servants of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple in one capacity or another. The points settled were many, and involved several details.

In effect the *Iṣabhattaḷiyilār* were required to serve in the shrine of the God and the *Dēvaraḍiyār* in that of the Goddess on festive occasions celebrated within the temple, and when the Gods were carried in procession outside the temple through the streets,

39a. Tiruchirapalli District.
40. *I.P.S.*, 867.

into *maṇṭapas*, into gardens, tanks and other sanctified spots, and when minor deities including the image of the sage Tiruvādavūr Nāyanār (Māṇikkavāśagar) on the occasion of his hearing the *Tiruvembāvai* was paraded, the procedure was to be somewhat different".[41]

Questions affecting the social and religious practices of the people were decided by *samayācāryas* or *dāśaris* who were the recognised leaders of the different religious communities. No religious ceremony or marriage could be undertaken without the permission of these *samayācāryas*. When a dispute arose between the Reḍḍis of Penugoṇḍa and Bodipet over inter-marriage between them, and the matter represented to Rāma Rāyal and Bukka Rāyal, they held an enquiry into the matter and sent for their *guru* Tātācārya to decide the question. Tātācārya went into the details of the case and invested the heads of Sujanakula with certain honours for which they promised to make certain specified payments on occasions of marriage. Then marriages were accordingly performed.[42] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya authorised one Veṅkaṭa Tātayarāja of the Śatamarṣaṇa *gotra* to enquire into the conduct of all the castes owing allegiance to Rāmānuja and to punish delinquents in religious and social matters.[43] Thus in the Vijayanagar days the religious leaders also decided certain cases of a social and religious nature.

Lastly there were the Nāyakas of the Vijayanagar days who were semi-independent rulers in their own territories. They enjoyed complete powers of police and judicial administration, held their own courts and decided cases that came up before them.

Section III

Judicial Procedure

(a) *Civil Cases*: About the exact judicial procedure one does not get much information. The little that is available indicates that civil cases were generally decided by the popular courts more by arbitration than by consideration of the various points involved in a case by going through all available oral and written evidence

41. 196 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 51.
42. *E.C.*, XII, Pg. 82.
43. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 110.

bearing on it. Even such difficult and complicated cases like the right of succession to property were decided by the local leaders by means of arbitration. For instance, a copper-plate record dated in A.D. 1533 from Madura registers the settlement of a dispute between two brothers as to who among them was the elder. The younger Śiṉṉa Vaḍāvāḍa Tummiśi Nāyakkar having been declared in an assembly consisting of eighteen Koḍaṅgai Nāyakkars and Polygars to be the junior, the elder Rāma Rāya Tummuśi Nāyakkar granted him some lands.[44] Then again when in A.D. 1363 the people of Heddūrnāḍ and the temple *ācāryas* had certain disputes with the *śūris* about the boundaries of lands belonging to the Pārśvadēva temple of Tāḍatāḷa (in Heddūrnāḍ), the great minister Nāgaṇṇa, a few *araśus* and the Jaina Mallappa decided them by arbitration. They summoned the elders of the three cities and the eighteen *kampaṇas* and held an enquiry in the Āraga Cāvaḍi. They made the *nāḍ* agree that the lands belonged to the temple, fixed the boundaries according to former custom, and gave a *śāsana* to that effect.[45] According to an inscription in the Sira taluk[45a] it was ruled by the king as follows: "If a caste dispute arises in the country the local leaders will summon the parties before them and advise them. And as they have the power of punisment, the parties must act according to the advice given. This proceeding to be free of cost to them."[46]

But when the regular courts or the king tried to the cases, they went into their merits, examined the documents, tried witnesses, and finally reached decisions. A valuable record at Śrīvilliputtūr[46a] dated A.D. 1577 states that when a dispute arose about the boundaries of the lands belonging to the temples of the Goddess Śūḍikoḍutta Nācciyār and the God Paḍikkāśuvaitta Nāyaṉār, it was decided by a committee consisting of Vīrappa Nāyakkar, Ariyanātha Mudaliyār and a few others. "Before the day appointed for settlement, orders to assemble were issued to the parties to the suit. They brought their accounts and *jñāpakam* (memos?). The allegations of both the parties were enquired into, the lands were inspected and final orders were then passed that

44. Burgess, *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 107-8; *C.P.* No. 27 of *Sewell's List;* also see V.R., *I.M.P.*, II, Mr. 83.
45. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 197.
45a. Tumkur District.
46. *E.C.* XII, Si. 76.
46a. Ramnad District.

Iraṭṭai Kariśalkuḷam should belong to the Nācciyār temple and that the tank Mālaiyiḍāṉ should be added to the Aḍiyārkuḷam as belonging to the Śiva temple. Boundary stones were fixed at the proper places to mark off the holdings of the Nācciyār temple."[47]

In this connection an inscription from Tiruviḍaimarudūr[47a] is of special interest to us. According to it, two villages, Āvaṇam and Śirṟādi, were originally granted to the temple at the place as a Marudappar *tirunāmattukkāṇi*, but were subsequently taken over by the government, and they became a *paṇḍāravāḍai*. When Rāma Rāja Viṭṭaladēva Mahārāja was in Tiruvaḍi (Travancore), Tiruccirṟambala Bhaṭṭar and Maṅgamarkāttār, two of the temple servants, petitioned to him many times about the return of the villages to the temple. Therefore he sent Tulināyaṉār and a *Muttirai vāngi iliṅgayar* (an examiner of the seals or boundary stones (?) and analogous to the Revenue Inspectors of the modern day) to see if the boundary stones in the two villages contained the marks of Marudappar. They soon returned and deposed that they bore his marks. On their evidence Viṭṭaladēva decided in favour of the temple's ownership and restored the villages to it.[48] This inscription clearly shows how the royal officers enquired into cases to ascertain the truth.

The value of documentary evidence was highly appreciated. The kings or judges did not fail to examine all relevant documents relating to any suit before them. When, for instance, a case about a dispute between the Paḷḷars and the Paraiyars of the villages in Kāṇanāḍu and Amantūr *Paḍaiparṟu*[48a] came up before Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍamāṉār, the local ruler, he went through the inscriptions bearing on the suit found in the temples of Tekkattūr, Virāccilai and Lambalakkuḍi and gave his decision.[49]

Similarly when a quarrel between the Baḍugulavāru and the Palināṭivāru about the *birudas* to be carried during festival processions came up for decision before the Vaiṣṇavas, Voḍeyas, elders and the merchants of Kāñcī in A.D. 1576, "they granted on the authority of a previous document on stone a very long list of pri-

47. 582 of 1926; *Rep.*, 1927, para 92.

47a. Tanjore District.

48. 140 of 1895; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 704.

48a. Tiruchirappalli District.

49. *I.P.S.*, 976.

vileges including that of *Kuṅkuma vastram* to the Baḍugulavāru."[50] The same procedure was adopted by Mahānāyakācārya Haraṭi Immaḍi Raṅgappa Nāyaka Ayya's (son) Huṅgahati Nāyaka's family, relatives, and others in the grant of a *gauḍa-ship* to a particular person. By a copper-plate *śāsana* Vīra Ballāḷa Rāya had granted the *nāḍ gauḍika* to one, but another called Muḍi Gauḍa.....of the two tanks said that it belonged to him, sent a few of his men to Tumkur, where they prepared a false document (*vōle*) and produced it before Huṅgahati Nāyaka and others, to show that the *gauḍika* was his and claimed to have proved his case. But the Mahānāyakācārya deputed his men from his palace to test the genuineness of the *vōle*, and they returned a verdict that it was a false *vōle*, and hence the *gauḍika* did not belong to him. The authorities decided that there should be no joint *gauḍika* even or any substitute, and in the presence of the chief priest of the God Mēḷikuṇṭe Bālakṛṣṇa's temple, set up a stone *śāsana*.[51]

One temple dispute deserves special notice here for the manner in which it was settled by a certain Tirumaḷḷi Nāyaka. The dispute related to the right of worship in the temple of Tirukkāmīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Āragaḷūr.[51a] A complaint was made by the managers of the temple before Tirumaḷḷi Nāyaka who in summing up and communicating his final orders to the managers (*sthānikas*) of that temple said: "(1) A has been enjoying for a long time the privilege of worshipping all the 30 days of the month in the temple, while actually only 15 days belong to him by right and 15 days belong to another person named B; (2) the privilege of B thus enjoyed by A without proper authority requires settlement; (3) in support of the latter part of the statement made in (1) there are records in the temple to prove that the 15 days of B (now abandoned by him and enjoyed by A) have, under orders, been counted 'unclaimed' (*iṟaṅgal*): (4) of this privilege of 15 days so declared unclaimed, you have sold (on your own responsibility 7½ days to a third person C, and given him a sale deed; (5) by so doing you have deprived the acquired right of A enjoyed by him for the last eight or ten generations; (6) at this stage the *nāṭṭār* appear to have volunteered to settle the question of enjoyment—A being found issueless (?) and to have called the parties to present themselves

50. *M.E.R.*, 1912-13, Cp. 13; Pt. I, para 11.
51. *E.C.*, XII, Si. 84.
51a. Salem District.

before them together with A; (7) you—the managers—were also required (under my orders) to be present on the occasion, to hear the case, and to carry out the decision arrived at (by the *nāṭṭār*) and to have in the meantime, during the period of hearing (by the *nāṭṭār*), the worship of the temple performed by outsiders, on payment; (8) A having then appealed to me while I happened to be present at Āragaḷūr to hear his case personally and give a just decision, I and the *nāṭṭār* together advised the parties to put their case before the *Mahājanas* and issued an order to this effect; (9) in obedience to our order the *Mahājanas* of the agrahāras of Kuḷattūr, Ālambaḷam, Śaḍaiyaṉpaṭṭu and Muṭṭiyākuricci heard both sides, and decided that although A may have been the hereditary holder of only 15 days of the privilege it was not fair to sell part of the disputed portion thereof to an outsider like C, while the right to purchase (in virtue of long enjoyment) primarily rested in A; (10) according therefore to this decisison of the *Mahājanas*, we order that A must continue to enjoy the full 30 days as before, and that the sale deed you have given to C should be cancelled."[52]

From the judicial procedure adopted in the above case the following conclusions may be drawn: An aggrieved party had the right of petition to the governor or king. When the governor or king by himself could not decide the case, he sought the aid of the *nāṭṭār*. But even when this influential body of people could not decide it, perhaps because it concerned a very important question or serious points of law, the *Mahājanas* of the surrounding villages were asked to decide the question. The *Mahājanas* decreed that the temple trustees had no power to sell the right of worship, originally belonging to B, but later abandoned by him it had gone to A and vested in him for eight or ten generations; he had thus acquired a prescriptive right to the conduct of worship. This also shows that appeals could lie from the popular courts to regular courts of justice.

Though great value was attached to human evidence, occasionally divine help was invoked. This happened in some cases which presented too great legal and technical difficulties to be decided easily, or when there was a demand by either party that the court should not rely on mere human evidence alone or lacked sufficient evidence. It was in such circumstances that trial by ordeal came

52. 430 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1914, para 26.

into the picture. If the party undergoing the ordeal was not seriously injured, or recovered from the injury within a particular period, he was considered to have won his case; else, lost it. An undated record found at Mēlattāṉiyam[52a] records the settlement of a dispute between the Paraiyars and the Paḷḷars of the village about the enjoyment of certain privileges exclusively by them. It is said that one Vīra Siṉṉu Nāyakkar decided the dispute by asking the parties to dip their hands in boiling ghee and that the Paḷḷars came out unscathed.[53] An inscription[53a] records a dispute among certain castes that was decided in a similar way. "When the barbers and washermen said that for potters paring of toes and nails and tying on the upper cloth (probably on marriage occasions) are not allowed, the chiefs of the potters said that they were, and gained victory by the ordeal of dipping their hands in boiling ghee before the God Divyaliṅgēśvara in Haradanahaḷḷi"[54] Another inscription[54a] of A.D. 1664 shows that the *śēnabōvas* of Dummaḷalu, Kambaya's son Muduraṅga and four others, (named) with the consent of their wives, sons, agnates, heirs and the *sāvantas* of four villages, granted to the *śenabōvas* of Guḍa-Abbinaholesthala, namely Gauraṉṉa's son Sadāśivayya and others (four named), a *jayarēkhapatrikā* (certificate of victory), declaring: "When we represented to the assembly consisting of the *gauḍas, śēnabōvas, śeṭṭis* and *paṭṭaṇasvāmis* of Agali, Mudavidu, Raṇṭa vaḷulu and other surrounding villages that the *kāṇāci* pertaining to the office of *shanbog* of Guḍasthala belonged to us, judgment was pronounced in your favour. Declining to abide by the decision of the assembly, we proposed to settle the dispute by the ordeal of dipping the hand in boiling ghee in the presence of the goddess Ellammā of Koḍihaḷḷi. Accordingly, by order of the chief, ghee was sent for by Sidapa Dēvaru of Haraṭi and others (named), boiled and placed before us and when we put our hand into it saying that "the *kāṇāci* is ours" the hand was burnt and we lost our case while you won yours by escaping injury. We therefore give you this *jayarēkhā*. Justice being on your side, may you enjoy the office of *shanbog* for as long as the sun and moon last."[55]

52a. Tiruchirapalli District.
53. *I.P.S.*, 929.
53a In Yēlandūr Jāgir, Mysore State.
54. *E.C.*, IV. Yl., 2.
54a. Found at Abbinahole, Hiriyur taluk.
55. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 116.

Nicolo dei Conti records the procedural details of ordeals: "In criminal charges oaths are allowed, where there is no witness to prove the offence. There are three modes of swearing. In one, the person to whom the oath is administered stands before the idol, and swears by the idol that he is innocent. Having taken the oath, he then licks with his tongue a piece of iron, such as a mattock, red hot; if he escape uninjured he is declared innocent. Others again, having first taken the oath, carry the same piece of iron, or a red hot plate for several paces before the idol; if burnt in any part he is punished as guilty; if he escape unhurt he is exempt from the punishment awarded for the offence. There is a third manner of swearing, and this is the most common of all. A vessel is placed before the idol filled with boiling butter. He who swears that he is innocent of the offence charged against him plunges two fingers into the butter, which are immediately wrapped up in linen and a seal impressed upon it, to prevent the covering being removed. On the third day the bandage is taken off. If any injury appear upon the fingers the accused is punished, if no injury present itself he is released."[56]

Ordeals continued in South India till so late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. For example, according to an inscription at Turaiyūr[56a] dated Ś. 1634, a quarrel between two professional classes of artisans for their professional rights was settled by an ordeal in which boiling ghee was used.[56b] A dispute between two individuals as to the *talayāri* right in a particular village was decided by resorting to one of the ordeals in the days of the Mahrātta king Sarfoji of Tanjore.[57] Trials by ordeal were in vogue till recently in the temple at Sucīndram. On one occasion His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin is said to have passed through this ordeal when he assured his hand of friendship to the Ruler of Travancore.[57a]

Delegation of judicial authority too obtained, but to a limited extent. An officer might authorise a body of persons to conduct the proceedings of certain cases falling within his jurisdiction: under the terms of reference, the proceedings were held and the findings and decision of the delegated body forwarded to the officer

56. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 31-32.
56a. Tiruchirapalli District.
56b. 225 of 1943-44; *Rep.*, 1943-44 and 1944-45; para 47.
57. *M.E.R.*, 1924, para 64.
57a. See *Q.J.M.S.* Vol. XXIX, p. 65; *M.E.R.*, 1943-44 and 1944-45; para 47.

for judgement. The Āragaḷūr inscription,[57b] is an instance in point. It was the *Mahājanas* that tried the case where the temple authorities had sold the acquired right of A to a certain C, and pronounced the verdict in the case. Tirumaḷḷi Nāyaka, the provincial ruler, to whom an appeal was preferred before the *Mahājanas* were asked by him to go into the case, only gave his judgement on the vedict of the *Mahājanas* empanelled by him. Thus these *Mahājanas* were not the judges but simply constituted a jury to find out the facts of the case.[58]

(b) *Criminal Cases*: We have some information of the procedure followed in criminal cases at the Imperial Court and at the periphery. But as it happens to be scanty no definite inferences can be drawn. Nevertheless the following details may be noted. Nuniz says: "When any one suffers wrong and wishes to represent his case to the King he shows how great is his suffering by lying flat on his face on the ground till they ask him what it is he wants. If, perchance, he wishes to speak to the King while he is riding, he takes the shaft of a spear and ties a branch to it and thus goes along calling out. Then they make room for him and he makes his complaint to the King: and it is there and then settled without much ado and the King orders a captain, one of those who go with him, to do at once what the supplicant asks.....and even if some (robberies) are committed you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thief be in the city or not, for there are very powerful wizards in this county. Thus there are very few thieves in the land."[59]

Appeals to the occult knowledge of wizards may seem quite rediculous at first sight. We tend to be sceptical about these agencies as their extraordinary powers are not explicable in scientific terms and therefore they have no place in modern law. Yet even wizardry should be judged by its results. And, in those days, as one may gather from Nuniz, more often than not the wizards could fix the real culprits, and locate the whereabouts of the culprits as well as the things stolen. Above all, none would deny them

57b. Cited earlier.

58. 430 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1914, para 26.

59. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-81. Even to-day, now and then, we come across some genuine instances of men, with unusual hidden powers, who are able to fix real culprits and locate the stolen things, very accurately.

at least one virtue and their alleged powers seem to have been a mighty deterrent and thus, as Nuniz says, there were "very few thieves in the land." In dealing with political offences, real or suspected, the king at times was the complainant, the policeman and the magistrate rolled in one. It was so when Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya blinded and put in prison his trusted minister Śaḷuva Timma and his sons on the suspicion of their having murdered his young son Tirumala. If the decision on this grave allegation had been left to an independent tribunal then perhaps the charge of murder should have to be proved before the award of punishment; and if it could not be proved, the king's desire to put in prison the minister and his sons would remain unrealised. Thus this system by which the king was the executive and the judiciary as well does not place in any favourable light, criminal justice in the Vijayanagar Empire.[59a]

The king was only one of the authorities in charge of the administration of criminal justice. The village assemblies, the temple authorities, and provincial governors also went elaborately into criminal cases, examined the evidence and pronounced judgments.

Occasionally, arbitration was resorted to even in criminal cases. In the time of Vīra Sāyaṇa Uḍaiyār, a local dispute between two parties of Araiyars at Kōvilūr[59b] was settled by arbitration. The parties in question were one Terkilaraiyan and his kinsman on one side and the descendants of one Vaḍakkilaraiyan on the other. "It is said that Vaḍakkilaraiyan first killed a relative (probably the brother-in-law) or Terkilarayan and in revenge he himself was killed by the latter. Sometime later the kinsmen of Vaḍakkilarayan invaded the territory of Terkilaraiyaṇ and killed some men belonging to the party of the latter. To make this loss good, Vaḍakkilaraiyan's party subsequently handed over some of their men to the other side, and both parties entered into a covenant addressed to the trustees and *māṇarkaḷ* of the temple of Kuḷandai Nāyakkar agreeing to be friendly to each other. Terkilaraiyaṇ and his kinsmen agreed not to commit any offence in the villages of Melaikkōṭṭai, Perumpuliyūr, etc., inhabited by the relations of Vaḍakkilaraiyaṇ, while Vaḍakkilaraiyaṇ's kinsmen agreed not to commit any offence in the district of Vaḷḷanāḍu inhabited by the relations of Terkilaraiyaṇ. They also declared that in case of any violation of the settlement, they, the parties, should sit as judges (*tānamu-*

59a. Such instances are not uncommon even in modern days.
59b. Tiruchirapalli District.

māga) and confiscate to the temple as *devadāna* some of the lands of the offender, for which the offender himself was to pay the taxes to the king. Fines also would be levied payable to the assembly and the king."[60]

A valuable record at Tirukkaḷukuṉṟam[60a] discloses certain interesting details about the way in which the temple authorities decided a case of theft. According to the details contained in the inscription, one Āindān had in the year Pramādi stolen 150 *pons* from the garland of God Kuṉṟavāṉaperumāl. The *Meykāval* lodged a complaint, before the temple trustees that Āindāṉ broke open the room where the garland was kept, took some *poṉ*, and plastered the opening with mortar. The judges present at the time of the final hearing were the Śrī Rudra Māhēśvaras of Tirukkāvaṇam, Śeṅgilaṅkiḷāṉ, Tiruppilavāyiḻuḍaiyār Veṉṟābaraṇaṉ Ādittadēvaṉ, Dhanavāṉ Amarāpatikāttār, Kāraikkiḷāṉ Poṉṉambalakūttaṉ, the Kaikkōḷas and the Kaikkōḷamudalis. But during the trial, Āindān had run away. Hence his property consisting of four pieces of vacant land and the capitalised value of two kinds of rights of worship which he enjoyed in the temple was sold in public auction for eight hundred and fifty *pons*, and credited to the temple treasury.[61] This inscription clearly shows that local authorities like the temple trustees also were allowed to try criminal cases. They went into the cases very elaborately and gave their considered judgment.

In some places the local residents (*nāṭṭār*) were allowed to try criminal cases. An inscription at Neḍungudi[61a] shows how a local dispute was decided by the *nāṭṭār*: The residents of Uñjaṉaipaṟṟu, Niyamapaṟṟu, Kaḷanivāśalpaṟṟu and Āḍalaiyūrnāḍu met to try and punish three private individuals, who with the help of the army of one Maḷavarāyar had caused disturbance in the country and killed twenty men in a fight.[62]

A similar inscription at Pūvālaikkuḍi,[62a] records that owing to a dispute between the two villages, the residents of Tūvar with sufficient outside help wrought havoc in Poṉṉamarāpadi. The people of Poṉṉamarāpadi laid their grievances before the assembly of Pūvā-

60. *I.P.S.*, 683.
60a. Chingleput District.
61. 185 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V. No. 479.
61a. Tiruchirapalli District.
62. *I.P.S.*, 818.
62a. Tiruchirapalli District.

laikkuḍi. Representatives of the residents of many surrounding villages promised help on condition of the afflicted party endowing some lands in their village to the temple.[63]

Section IV

Punishment

The normal code of punishment appears to have been generally severe under the Vijayanagar kings. Nuniz, describes how criminal offences were punished. "For a thief whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who became traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same for a murder unless the death was the result of a duel... These are the common kinds of punishment, but they have others more fanciful; for when the king so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the king that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you release him, he would do it."[64]

This picture of severe punisments is corroborated by 'Abdur Razzāk and contemporary inscriptions. The Persian ambassador writes: "Sometimes they order the criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunks and tusks."[65] An inscription at Neyvāśal[65a] dated in A.D. 1616, for instance, records the theft of a temple jewel and also the punishment of the culprit. He was imprisoned; one of his hands was ordered to be chopped off; his lands were confiscated; and at last he himself was driven out of the village.[66] Sometimes the criminals were tortured to death. One Tānādār Dilavar, for instance,

63. *I.P.S.*, 799.
64. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-84.
65. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 111.
65a. Tiruchirapalli District.
66. *I.P.S.*, 867.

who used to kill the children of the farmers and others in the Dummi Śīme, was tortured to death. In such cases the loss of the aggrieved party was sought to be compensated by the State. Gauḍayya was for instance one of those killed by the said Tānādār Dilavar. Hence his children were given Cikka Gaṅgūr as a *nettara gōḍage*.[67]

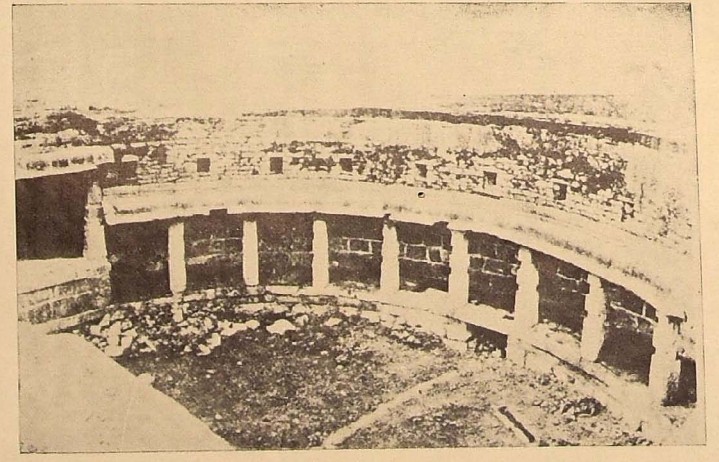
But such corroboration of the observations of Nuniz should not create the general impression that criminal law was then always very severe, and that even a small theft was punished by mutilation. One must also note that the law of the land allowed differential treatment among the citizens. All men were not equal before law. But in cases where the criminals were sentenced to death Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya wanted some consideration to be shown: "In the matter of people sentenced to death give them the chance to appeal thrice (for mercy). But in the case of those people whose escape might bring on a calamity to yourself, immediate execution is advisable."[68] Thus only treasonous persons whose existence would do great harm to the state and the king, were to be executed forthwith without chance of appeal.

If Nuniz is to be believed, human sacrifices were not rare under the Vijayanagar kings. Whenever there was felt any necessity for the sacrifice of human beings the prisoners 'who deserved death' were ordered to be executed. Thus Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, when he was told that the Gods demanded some human sacrifice for the successful termination of his big irrigation scheme, 'sent to bring hither all the men who were his prisoners, and who deserved death, and ordered them there to be beheaded.'[69] This would indicate that as far as practicable Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya acted up to his principles as laid down in his *Āmuktamālyada*. Not till he was forced to the necessity of offering a human sacrifice for the successful termination of a big irrigation project did he think of executing even those who deserved death. He was satisfied with their imprisonment. The infliction of capital punishment on criminals is also mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāk. He refers to the punishment of the

67. *E.C.*, VII, Ci. 69; In this connection Havart's representation in which the Golkonda ministers, Akkaṇṇa and Māḍaṇṇa, were tortured to death, is of great interest. The instance depicts one of the methods of torture in the seventeenth century. (See *M.E.R.*, 1915, plate IId, facing p. 117).

68. *Āmukta*, canto. IV, v. 243.

69. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.



Part of the Prison house, Gingee Fort, Gingee,
South-Arcot Dist.

conspirators who plotted to murder Dēva Rāya II: "They were either flayed alive, or burnt to death, or destroyed in some other fashion, and their families were altogether exterminated. The person who had brought the invitation was also put to death."[70]

Certain offences were punishable with imprisonment irrespective of the status or dignity of the offender. According to the account of Nuniz, Sāḷuva Timma and his sons who were suspected of the murder of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's son Tirumula, were imprisoned and blinded. A Jesuit letter of A.D. 1601 also records similar punishment. Guerreiro says: "The case was striking in this that it should happen to the chief Governor of the Empire, who so earnestly opposed the grant ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church. It was just he who was accused before the King of having robbed the royal rents and treasure; he was disgracefully deprived of his functions and dignity. And when asked by the King for one of his rings that had cost 50,000 *pagodas,* he denied the charge and swore on his parents, he had never taken the ring. By many witnesses he was declared guilty of the theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand *pagodas;* so he is now imprisoned."[71]

It was not, however, unusual that even such grave crimes as murder went nominally punished. According to an inscription at Basrūr[72] dated A.D. 1444-45, the Nakharadavāru (merchants) of Dharmapaṭṇa atoned for their murder of two men of the Śeṭṭi community by making a gift of money at one *honnu* (gold) in every ten realised by them. This they did as a *prāyaścitta* at the instance of several *śeṭṭikāras* of Paḍavakēri while Timmaṇa Oḍeya was governing the Bārakūru rājya.[73] In 1480 the residents of a few villages decided that the three persons who with the help of one Maḷavarāyan caused disturbance and killed twenty men, should each endow one *mā* of land to the local temple as tax-free *devadāna.*[74] Certain offences were punished with excommunication and loss of caste. In such cases the accused lost his property to the palace.[75]

70. Elliot, *op. cit.,* IV, pp. 116-17.
71. Quoted by Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty,* I, p. 469.
72. South Canara District. Mysore State.
73. 404 of 1927-28.
74. *I.P.S.,* 818.
75. *E.C.,* VI, Kp. 50.

A few offences were punishable with fines. A record at Paḷaṅkarai[75a] specifies certain rates of fines for certain offences. They were fixed at ten *paṇams*.[76] According to an inscription in the Koppa taluk,[76a] one Cikkaṇṇa Nāyaka was fined 30 *varāhas* for a crime of his.[77] A defaced inscription at Raṅgiyam[77a] records an agreement drawn among the residents of Rāśaśiṅgamaṅgalam ten paṟṟu of Ponnamarāpadināḍu regarding the punishment to be inflicted on the person who killed another in any result. The rates were fixed at 5 *paṇams* payable to Bhūmīśvara Nāyaṇār if the victim was a male and 10 *paṇams* if a female.[78]

Injustice done to particular individuals by the state was compensated by it. In 1582 Keladi Rāma Rājayya, for instance, granted to Puṭṭanahaḷḷi Bhadri Gauḍa an *umbaḷi* as follows: " As we had your eyes put out (or taken away your threshing floor)[79] we grant you 5 *khaṇḍugas* of land in the fields in front of Puṭṭanahaḷḷi."[79a]

The foregoing account of judicial administration in the Vijayanagar days shows clearly that the kings were anxious that justice should be the active principle of their administration. Whether it was the judge at the imperial court or the village assembly, the cases that appeared before them were examined in all their aspects. It may be that the code of criminal procedure and punishment was harsh and rigorous in some instances. But it was only the fear of severe punishment which made the people law-abiding. Duarte Barbosa, who bears testimony to the sense of security in the Vijayanagar Empire, says: "Great equity and justice is observed to all not only by the rulers but by the people one to another."[80] Vijayanagar was not the only empire in which the criminal code was harsh in those days. It was severe in Europe as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

75a. Tiruchirapalli District.
76. *I.P.S.*, 784.
76a. Kadur District.
77. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 59.
77a. Tiruchirapalli District.
78. *I.P.S.*, 913.
79. (*nāvu ninna kaṇṇattegisida*).
79a. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 232.
80. *Barbosa*, I, p. 202.

Section V

Police Organisation

Great attention was paid to police organisation in the Vijayanagar Empire. The police force was of two kinds, one maintained by the state, and the other maintained by the people, in the local areas. The first was responsible directly to the government and the second to the local people. There was also a special police at the capital almost similar in its organisation to the government police in the outlying parts of the Empire. These policemen were responsible for the preservation of peace and order and the detection of crimes within their jurisdiction. About their functions 'Abdur Razzāk says: "The business of these men was to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft; otherwise they are fined."[81] The Persian ambassador also notes how on one occasion they were punished for the theft that took place within their ward: "Certain slaves which my companion had brought took to flight, and when the circumstances were brought to the Prefect, he ordered the watchmen of that quarter, where the poorest people dwelt, to produce them or pay the penalty; which last they did on ascertaining the amount."[82] The same system is described by Nuniz: if any one complained to the king that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the king sent immediately for the captain of the province, even though he be at court, and the captain might be seized and his property taken if he did not catch the thief. He adds that in the same way the Chief Bailiff was obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital and in consequence very few thefts took place.[83] The Bailiff and the Prefect were different names of the same officer who was the counterpart of the modern Commissioner of Police or the *nāgarika* of Kauṭilya.[84] In the days of Dēva Rāya II he had his office opposite the mint at the capital. Under him there were 12,000 policemen who were each paid by the government 30 *paṇams* a month.[85]

81. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 112.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
83. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-81.
84. *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. 36.
85. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 111.

But in the provinces of the Empire where the *Nāyāṅkara* system prevailed, the *Nāyaḳas* were responsible for the preservation of peace and order in their respective areas. By themselves they did not attend to police duties, but appointed a number of persons for the work and they were known as the *kāvalkāras*. Each of them was in charge of a small area. The origin of this system can be traced to the policy of setting a thief to catch a thief. These *kāvalkāras* belonged generally to the criminal tribes and they were required to prevent theft by their castemen and restore the property stolen within their locality. For this service they were paid by assignments of land for their maintenance. The *kāvalkāras* themselves appointed a *talaiyāri* for each village under them. These local policemen were liable to be punished if they did not discharge their duties properly. For instance, an inscription at Tiruvorriyūr[85a] mentions that some of *agambaḍaiyārs* (servants ?), 48 in number, serving under the chief of Paḍuvūr, lived in the village and protected it for a long time, but later by neglect of their duties, for reasons unexplained, they caused much loss to the people and had to be punished.[86]

In some places the *kāvalkāras* were responsible to the villagers themselves. The villagers at times sold the right of policing, *pāḍikāval* as it was called. According to a damaged record at Tennaṅguḍi[86a] the residents of Aṇṇāvāśal in Vaḍakōnāḍu sold the *pāḍikāval* right in the village for 150 *śakkarapaṇams*.[87] Similarly when a few *kaḷḷavēlaikkāras* sought refuge in an assembly composed of certain specified groups of people in Jambukēśvaram and Śrīraṅgam, they were assigned the duty of guarding the lands of the assembly and lives of the members. In return they were permitted to collect from each family of the eighteen castes (*padineṇ bhūmi śamayattār*) one *paṇam* annually and one ring on the occasion of each marriage.[88] It was not unusual for the village communities to sell away the *pāḍikāval* duty to some local chieftains or influential persons if conditions were insecure in the locality.

85a. Chingleput District.

86. 240 of 1912.

86a. In Kuḷattūr Taluk, Tiruchirapalli District.

87. *I.P.S.*, 751; see for a similar sale of *pāḍikāval* rights by the residents of Mēlūr in the same area in 1465 owing to famine and failure of rain; *ibid.*, 801. *Ūrkāval* which was similar to *pāḍikāval* was the office or right of policing in an *ūr* or village.

88. 368 of 1914.

In due course these persons, who came to hold the office by inheritance, began to collect a tax, for the police duties they discharged. The tax was called *araśu svatantaram* in some parts of the Tamil country.[88a]

The influential men in a locality granted the right to the *kāvalkāras*. Four landholders of Tirukkaḷākkuḍi[88b] granted to the watchmen of three villages the right of *kāval* which consisted of one bundle of hay and one *kuruṇi* of paddy on each *mā* of their holdings to each group of watchmen separately and of all other customary services (*kāryakrama*) due from their tenants.[89] Sometimes the *kāval* rights were granted to people as a reward for certain services rendered. For instance, acccording to an inscription in the same village a certain Sāḷuva Nāyaka and Appā Piḷḷai found a suburban village ruined, the tenants having dispersed and none willing to come and settle in that place. The two sent for a Śakkadēvar Vēṭṭuvakkāṭṭan *alias* Śāyapaḍaitāṅgi and his brother Śirukāṭṭavaṇ and also for the two agents of Tammaya Nāyaka and declared that as these had got tenants for the village and resettled it, the first two would be given the right of *pāḍikāval* over the particular village surrounding the temple (*tirumalai*) receiving the customary donations and fees, after allowing common rights of cultivation and paying the usual dues to the temple such as *kāṭṭumūkkai, mīśam, āśupōḍu, makkaḷpēṟu*, etc. They were also granted a few other rights and obligations.[90]

An incomplete record at Tiruvēṅgaivāśal[90a] records for example, the grant of *pāḍikāval* rights by the temple trustees and the residents of Tiruvēṅgaivāśal to the chief of Irumbaḷi for repairing the tank in their village.[91]

88a. An inscription of A.D. 1380 will be found interesting in this connection. It records: "Since our village has become ruined and we have ourselves been reduced to very straightened circumstances on account of the inroads of the Mussalmans, and since we find no other course open to us, and have no seed grain, we have agreed to sell the village watchmanship for 300 *kuḷiśaippaṇam* of Vāḷāl vaḷi tirantāṉ, and receiving this amount, we, the inhabitants of the village, have sold the village watchmanship to Vijayālaya Tēvan of Śūraikkuḍi on oath. They further agreed to give him some perquisites". (See *Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. I, (Second Edn.), pp. 328-29).

88b. Ramnad District.

89. 61 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 83.

90. 48 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1916, para 83.

90a. Pudukkottai area.

91. *I.P.S.*, 680.

Many of the *kāvalkāras* of South India held their estates on *kāval* tenure. The *Bellary District Gazetteer* describes the method of their remuneration: "The Kāvalgars were highly paid officials and granted payments as follows: (i) a village rent-free or at a very low quit rent, (ii) a certain portion of rent-free land in every village under their jurisdiction, (iii) an allowance in grain upon each plough or upon quantity of seed sown, (iv) an allowance in money paid by husbandmen on ploughs and by tradesmen on houses, shops and looms, (v) a small duty levied on fairs and weekly markets, on shroffs paid in money and other dealers (paid in kind)."[92]

In some parts of the Empire the chief *kāvalkāra* was known as the *araśu kāvalkāra*. The *araśu kāvalkāras* of Turaiyūr, Araiyalūr and Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam grew into the Poligars of those places in course of time.[93]

As said earlier the *kāvalkāras* appointed *talaiyāris* in each of the villages under them who in return for the services they rendered were paid both in kind and in cash, besides being granted land free of rent.

Thus it was largely the people themselves that made their own arrangements for police organisation. The government maintained only a part of the police force viz., what we may call the city and district organisations. The police arrangement in the Vijayanagar Empire was well adapted to the times, and ensured security in the Empire, but the way the *kāvalkāras* were punished for alleged crimes within their jurisdiction was too severe. But since the *kāvalkāras* themselves were generally very influential among the criminal tribes and inevitably had some control over the tribesmen, the arrangement had generally a wholesome effect.

92. *Bellary District Gazetteer*, p. 187.

93. F. R. Hemingway, *The Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 255. For an account of the *Kāvalgār* System, by J. C. Curry, *The Indian Police*, pp. 247-48 and W. J. Hatch, *The Land Pirates of India*, pp. 108-112.

CHAPTER V

MILITARY ORGANISATION: WARFARE AND DIPLOMACY

SECTION I

Strength

The importance of a strong and trained army for the stability of an empire can hardly be exaggerated. In ancient India it was considered one of the constituent elements of the state. A strong and powerful army was a great need for the Vijayanagar kings. In fact the history of the Vijayanagar Empire shows how its very existence depended on its military strength. The Empire had to protect itself against the frequent attacks of the Bahmani Sultans. The southern reaches of the Deccan, particularly the Raicūr-Doab, was always a bone of contention between the Vijayanagar Emperors and the Sultans, and the anxiety of both of them to possess that area led to frequent wars between them. Besides, there were other causes also, some of them trivial in nature, like disappointment in love, that forced them into wars. There were, further, a number of feudal chiefs in the Empire who had to be kept under strong vigilance and control, for otherwise they would rebel against the central government. Factors like these considerably influenced the military organisation in the Vijayanagar Empire.

Generally Indian armies were large in size; and almost every foreign traveller who visited India was struck by their numbers.[1]

1. According to the accounts presented by Pliny and Plutarch, the army of Candragupta Maurya consisted of 9,000 elephants, 30,000 horses and 60,000 foot soldiers besides chariots (see V. R. R. Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 190). In the Vijayanagar Empire too the army was large. Ferishta says that Bukka I assembled an army consisting of 30,000 horses, 3,000 elephants and 100,000 foot soldiers when he advanced towards Ādōni in A.D. 1366. (Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 314). Nicolo dei Conti who visited Vijayanagar in 1421 estimated the strength of the Hindu army at 90,000 men fit to bear arms (Major, *India*, p. 6; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 82). 'Abdur Razzāk who visited the city twenty-one years later, records that the Vijayanagar army consisted of eleven lakhs of men, (1,100,000) and more than 1,000 elephants, "lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons." (Elliot, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 105). Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller who stayed at Gulburga

But it is not quite clear whether these huge forces constituted the imperial standing army at Vijayanagar or whether they included also feudal levies. In the light of the figures of Duarte Barbosa who modestly estimates the strength of the trained armies of the Vijayanagar kings at 100,000, the cavalry alone being 20,000, it is reasonable to infer that the huge figures given by most of the

between 1468 and 1474, describes the Vijayanagar army as consisting of 300 elephants, 100,000 infantry and 50,000 horse, while that of Sultan Muhammad of Gulburga consisted of 575 elephants, 900,000 foot and 190,000 horses (see Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 105). According to the accounts of Varthema there were 40,000 horsemen in Vijayanagar (Jones, *Varthema*, p. 126; Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 118). Duarte Barbosa, in giving an account of Vijayanagar, says that the king kept at all times 900 elephants and more than 20,000 horses, and had more than 100,000 men both horses and foot to whom he gave pay (*Barbosa*, I, pp. 209-10). The chronicle of Paes also contains some interesting information about the Vijayanagar army. Referring to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his forces, Paes says: "This king has continually a million fighting troops in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary." (Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 279). He says that the king once sent fifty captains with 150,000 soldiers amongst whom were many horses, and adds: "He (the king) has many elephants and when the king wishes to show the strength of his power to any of his adversaries amongst the three kings bordering on his kingdom, they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which he is the most feared king of any in these parts." (*Ibid.*, p. 280). Nuniz estimates that the army which Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya led to the battle of Raicūr in 1519 consisted of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horses and 551 elephants, besides the camp followers, merchants, and others, and "an infinitude of people" who joined him at a place close to Raicūr. (*Ibid.*, pp. 147 and 326-27). The *Rāyavācakamu* states that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was followed in his campaigns against the Muslims by 120 *ghaṭṭams* (the term *ghaṭṭam* which is synonymous with the Sanskrit *ghaṭa* denotes a contingent of war elephants. According to the *Rāyavācakamu*, a *ghaṭṭam* consisted of ten elephants; so there were in all 1,200 animals in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's army), of elephants, 60,000 horses and 500,000 infantry in a body. (S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 113). According to the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu*, the strength of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's army was 600,000 foot, 6,600 horses and 2,000 elephants (*Ibid.*, p. 131). The army of Rāma Rāja was also large. Ferishta says that it consisted of 70,000 horses and 90,000 infantry (Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 247); but if the anonymous chronicler is to be believed, it was even larger and was made up of 100,000 horses and 300,000 infantry. (*Ibid.*, p. 414). Couto and Faria y Sousa agree with the above accounts regarding the number of horses, but they estimate that the foot soldiers alone were more than six hundred thousand (*Couto*, VIII, p. 89; *Faria y Sousa* II, p. 432; referred to by Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 200-201.)

foreign travellers do not indicate the normal strength of the permanent forces which the kings generally maintained, but that of the levies that were assembled in times of war. For instance, the huge army that marched to Raicūr was made up not only of the regular troops but also of the war levies furnished by feudal vassals. According to Nuniz, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had a permanent force of fifty thousand paid soldiers amongst whom were six thousand horsemen, who comprised the palace guard. Of them two hundred horsemen were always to be with the king and ride with him. There were also in the king's service twenty thousand spearmen and shield-bearers, three thousand men to look after the elephants in the stables, sixteen hundred grooms to attend to the horses, three hundred horse trainers and two-thousand artificers namely blacksmiths, masons, carpenters and washermen.[2] The figures of Duarte Barbosa and Nuniz show that the standing army was a fraction of the large armies called to the field of battle. The Vijayanagar rulers depended also on the irregulars who formed a very large portion of the army.[3]

SECTION II

Recruitment

The Vijayanagar rulers adopted two methods of recruitment to the army. The first was direct according to which the soldiers were directly recruited and maintained by the kings; while the second was indirect according to which military contingents were required to be supplied to the imperial sovereign by the feudal vassals. While the former constituted the regular standing army of the state, the latter remained largely an irregular force supplied by the feudatories at short notice.

Recruitment for the standing army of the kings was made with great care. Duarte Barbosa, while describing how men were chosen for the army, says: "The officials of war in choosing a man for the army strip him naked, and look at him to find out how tall he is, what is his name, in what land he was born, the

2. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 381; also p. 371.

3. See C. H. Payne, *Scenes and Characters from Indian History*, pp. 56 and 57 and *fn.* A part of the standing army was probably called the *mūla-bala*—(reserve army). See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 93; *E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 17).

names of his father and mother, and in this way he is appointed without leave being given him to go to his country and if he goes without leave and afterwards is captured, he is very evilly entreated."[4] Though recruitment to the army was made with great care, and discipline maintained with great rigour, yet the soldiers were allowed to live "according to their own law."[5] Nuniz, when describing the army of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya which marched to Raicūr, says that "all (the soldiers) were equally well armed, each after his own fashion."[6] The system of allowing the soldiers to live "according to their own law" and equip themselves "each after his own fashion" had certain advantages which counter-balanced the disadvantages. Though the existence of diverse groups and classes in the imperial armies, each following its own custom, could not have been conducive to the enforcement of a uniform discipline among them, it gave room for the display of patriotism of groups and communities or tribes. Under that system the soldiers must have been able to preserve intact their own tribal or local characteristics which gave them greater scope for the display of their valour in war. Such diversity in the laws and regulations governing the army organisation was surely conducive to the efficiency of the men at arms.[7] Barbosa suggests, though he does not definitely say so, that it was only with very great difficulty that leave was granted to the soldiers. But this policy could not have done much good to military efficiency for there could not have been much enthusiasm and love for war among them.

As has been said earlier, the feudal levies constituted a large portion of the Vijayanagar army. The Empire was divided into a large number of units each of which was granted to a chief in return for a fixed annual financial contribution and the supply of a specified quota of the military to the imperial house. About the feudal contingents in the Vijayanagar army Nuniz says: "The

4. *Barbosa*, I, p. 212.

5. *Ibid.*, 212, This was obviously due to the fact that the army consisted of soldiers from different regions For instance, a record of A.D. 1356 says that the Vijayanagar army was composed of the Turks, Seuṇas, Telugus, Pāṇḍyas and Hoysaḷas. (Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 2 and 5 referred to in B.A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, p. 421.)

6. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 327.

7. It may be noted that the classification of the army on the basis of communities or regions was in vogue in the British Indian days; the practice continues even now.

kings of this country are able to assemble as many soldiers as they want, as they have them there in their kingdom and have made wealth wherewith to pay them. This king Chita Rao has foot soldiers paid by his nobles, and they are obliged to maintain six lakhs of soldiers, that is six hundred thousand men, and twenty-four thousand horses which the same nobles are obliged to have."[8] Many of the nobles also held some office or other under the crown. Nuniz[9] gives a list of a few nobles who held office under Acyuta Rāya, and the military contribution they were liable to:

The same authority[10] gives us an idea of the strength of the contingents of a few nobles who followed Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the battle of Raicūr:

It was the king who settled the forces that these chiefs were to keep for the imperial house. It would appear that the number of each of the divisions of the army was subject to revision by the king as occasions demanded. For instance,[11] though Adapanayque

8. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 373.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-89.

Name	Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants
Salvanayque	30,000	3,000	30
Ajaparcatimapa	25,000	1,500	40
Gapanayque	20,000	2,500	20
Lepanayque	20,000	1,200	28
Narvara (the treasurer of the jewels)	12,000	600	20
Cinapanayque	10,000	800	Nil
Crisnapanayque	700	500	Nil
*Bajapanayque	10,000	800	15
Mallapanayque	6,000	400	Nil
Adapanayque	8,000	800	30
Bajapanayque	10,000	1,000	50

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

Name	Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants
The chief of the guard	30,000	1,000	6
Trimbicara	50,000	2,000	20
Timapanayque	60,000	3,500	30
Adapanayque	100,000	5,000	50
Condamara	120,000	6,000	60
Comara ..	80,000	2,500	40
Ogemdraho (the governor of the city of Bisnaga)	30,000	1,000	10
Three eunuchs	40,000	1,000	15
The betel page	15,000	200	Nil
Comarberca	8,000	400	20

11. See footnotes 9 and 10 above.

was normally expected to maintain only 8,000 foot soldiers, 800 horses and 30 elephants, he led to Raicūr an army consisting of 100,000 foot soldiers, 5,000 horses and 50 elephants, which seems to show that the strength of the contingents to be supplied by the feudatories was increased, if necessary, in times of war. This must have made Adapanayque enlist for his contingents men and animals that had not even seen a battle. The existence of such irregulars in the Vijayanagar armies must have made them weak despite their large size. Here the remarks of Irvine about the armies of the later Mughals are apposite. Writing on Indian armies in general he says: "Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot soldier was little more than a night watchman and guardian over baggage either in camp or on the line of march."[12] Though this may be an exaggerated picture of the Hindu military camp, it can well hold good of the irregulars in the Hindu armies.[13] However, the feudal vassals seldom maintained the required quota of the military. Nuniz affirms, for instance, that Salvanayque acquired much wealth because he never maintained the whole force. But the kings had the right to take away the property of these nobles if they did not maintain and supply the required number of troops.[14]

It is not known if in fixing the strength of the forces each noble was to supply to the imperial house there was any proportion or principle followed, and whether it had any bearing on the quota fixed for the others. Condamara, for instance, supplied 120,000 foot soldiers, 6,000 horses and 60 elephants while the chief of the guard led a force of 30,000 infantry, 1,000 horses and six elephants. The evidence at our disposal does not admit of an easy answer to this question. It is not, however, likely that the Vijayanagar kings would have acted as despots in fixing the strength of the contingents from the feudal vassals. Though in times of war each of them may have been required to supply a larger quota of the military, during normal periods of peace it is reasonable to suppose that some principle was followed. The Empire, could not have flourished on force and oppression for more than three centuries successfully resisting the Muslims.

12. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 385.
13. *Ibid.*.
14. *Army of the Mughals*, p. 57.

This class of feudatories who were bound by ties of military service to the king are said to have held lands of the king on an *amaram*[15] tenure and were hence known in inscriptions as *amara-nāyakas*. There are a large number of inscriptions recording grant of lands for military service. From the general nature of their military obligations it would appear that the military chieftains were responsible for the supply of foot soldiers, horses and elephants for the wars. The *amarams* were resumable by the grantor if the stipulated service was not rendered. Neither the inscriptions nor the literary works of the period give us an idea of the number of soldiers, horses and elephants each *amaranāyaka* was required to supply.[16] The *amaranāyakas* must have differed widely in their status and obligations.[17]

The military vassals granted their lands to minor chiefs on similar terms of military service. The prevalence of such a system is indicated by inscriptions. A record at Ūṉaiyūr[18] registers a grant of land by a Veṅgaḷappa Viśayālayadēva, chief of Śuraikkuḍi to one Kurundan *alias* Teriñjuveṭṭi, commander of the army at Kurundampiṟai, a *paḍaippaṟṟu*. The commanders were asked to pay the dues from their lands to the above chief and serve in his army.[19]

There were subordinate kings, too, bound to give military help to the Emperor. They were semi-independent rulers in their respective areas but owed allegiance to the imperial house. Such were the kings of Bankàpur, Gerasope and a few others, most of them in the western part of the Empire. Nuniz says that they received no special respect at the imperial court.[20] But they receiv-

15. *Amaram* means land or revenue granted by a chief to his retainers for military service. (*Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. 1, p. 102).

16. Wilson suggests that each holder of an *amaram* was the commander of a thousand foot. (*Indian Glossary*, p. 21).

17. One record mentions a *daḷavāy* of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya who held some lands in the Hassan *sthala* for his *amara padeya nāyakatana*, (*E.C.*, V, Hn. 13). The term literally interpreted means the Nāyakship of his own *amara* force.

18. In Tiruchirappalli District.

19. *I.P.S.*, 743.

20. "The kings who are subject are these, besides this king of Bengapor, namely the king of Gasopa, and the king of Bacanor and the king of Calecu and he of Batecala, and these when they come to the court of Bisnaga are not held in higher esteem than any other captains either by the king or by any other nobles." (Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 374).

ed one concession, namely, they were not compelled to go to the imperial court unless they were summoned. They were allowed to send their rents and tributes from their own places.[21]

There was a special force at the capital which Nuniz calls the "King's guard", consisting of foot-soldiers, horses and elephants. The strength of the force is not known. But it seems to have been large, for Nuniz says: "The king (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya) took of his guard six thousand horse and forty thousand foot, the pick of all his kingdom, men with shields, archers, and three hundred elephants to the battle of Raicūr."[22] To this group belonged two hundred horsemen to whom reference has been made earlier. They may be called gentlemen-troopers at the imperial service. They attended on the king always, and were obliged to ride with him. After the king had mounted, he would count the two hundred horsemen, and whoever was missing was liable to be severely punished and his property confiscated. These gentlemen-troopers were paid by the king, but were not granted lands.[23] They bore some resemblance to the *Ahadis* of the Mughal court, who always attended on the emperor and owed allegience to him alone. A higher standard of efficiency and general worth was set up for an *Ahadi* than for an ordinary horseman.[24] It is probable that the same higher standard may have been expected of this group of cavalry of the Vijayanagar kings.[25]

21. Sewell, *op. cit.*, 374.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 371-2.
24. *J.I.H.*, IX, p. 288.
25. It would be interesting in this connection to note that in some respects these horsemen and attendants of the king bear also some resemblance to the *omrahs* of the Mughal court. Bernier describing the *omrahs* says: "Every *omrah* at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assembly for the purpose of paying his respects to the king, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dispense justice and at six in the evening. An *omrah* must also in rotation keep guard in the fortress once every week during four and twenty hours..... Whenever the king takes an excursion in his paleky....all the *omrahs* who are not prevented by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust." (*Bernier*, p. 215). Similarly the Vijayanagar gentlemen troopers did obeisance to the king daily when he came to the hall of public audience in his palace at ten or eleven o'clock. But the method of this obeisance differed from that at the Mughal court, for while one was a Hindu court the other was a Muslim one. Though it can-

Nuniz speaks rather ambiguously, of another class of "captains" who were always with the king: "During his (the king's) feasts and the almsgiving to his temples all these captains who are thus like renters must always attend the court, and of those whom this King has always about him and by whom he is accompanied in his court there are more than two hundred. These are obliged always to be present with the King, and must always maintain the full number of soldiers according to their obligations, for if he finds that they have a less number they are severely punished and their estates confiscated. These nobles are never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns because they would there be beyond reach of his hand; they only go thither sometimes."[26] Apparently here Nuniz confuses between the feudal vassals who had certain military obligations to the king and were granted estates on a military tenure and their agents who were required to be always at the capital. We have no other evidence to show that these "captains" were forced to stay at the capital. But there are a large number of inscriptions from different parts of the Empire, referring to the grants made by the *nāyakas* in the districts granted to them for military service; we also meet with a few inscriptions which record grants by the agents of these *nāyakas*. Nuniz himself says: "Those who are in the city and those who are away each maintains a secretary"[27] and thereby indicates that some were away from the capital. Thus it is evident that Nuniz confuses between the feudal chiefs and their agents. It was only the latter that were permanently staying at the capital.[28]

not be said with confidence that such a system was a Muslim institution and that the Hindu court simply copied it, yet it has to be admitted that the similarity of the two systems is striking. But there was an important difference between the status of a Vijayanagar gentleman trooper and a Mughal *omrah*. While the former was paid and maintained by the king, the latter was a nobleman whose duty and privilege it was to follow the ruler.

26. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 374.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

28. That these "captains" who were the "renters" kept their agents at the capital at all times, even in times of peace, with their respective tributary contingents, will become clear from the following illustration. It was often the imperial policy that was followed in the provinces of the Empire. Madura for instance was divided into seventy-two *pāḷaiyams* each of which was granted to a *pāḷaiyakār* who was required to make a fixed financial contribution, and supply a definite quota of the military to the Nāyak ruler of Madura. Besides these obligations, each of them was required to maintain a certain number of troops at the capital for guarding one of the seventy-

It would be interesting to examine here the considerations that weighed in the recruitment to the army. In the Vijayanagar army the Brahmans occupied an important place. They were not only placed in charge of fortresses but were also appointed to lead armies. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya insists that the Brahmans alone should be placed in charge of fortresses: "The king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmans as are attached to himself. .. The services of a Brahman are also (quite) necessary. So it is fit that he gives them charge of well-filled fortresses and well-equipped forces and land."[29] As to why the Brahmans should be placed in charge of fortresses, he observes: "Entrust your forces to such Brahmans (generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak but give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from enemies....because a Brahman would stick to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or a Śūdra. It is always advisable for a king to take a Brahman as his officer."[30] The history of Vijayanagar abounds in instances where Brahmans were either generals or provincial viceroys. Sāyaṇa, the brother of the great minister Mādhavācārya, Mādaṇṇa, Lakkaṇṇa and Sāḷuva Timma are good instances in point. The Brahmans, apart from being generals of forces and lords of forts, were leaders of contingents in wars. This is borne out by a valuable inscription[31] dated Vaiśya (Vṛṣa, A.D. 1521-22?) in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. The record states that a certain Brahman named Āpatsahāyan of Tirukkaḍaiyūr took part in the war against Irāccūr (Raicūr in Bijāpūr) and pleased king Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. There were many Brahmans among ordinary soldiers too. According to

two bastions of the fort at Madura. The *pāḷaiyakārs* appointed their own men at the capital; and each of these agents stood a hostage for the loyalty of his master to the Nāyak ruler. The same system could well have obtained at the imperial court of Vijayanagar. Thus the captains, who according to Nuniz had always to attend the court, maintained the full number of soldiers according to obligations and were not allowed to settle in cities or towns, were in all likelihood the military agents of the "renters" and not the "renters" themselves. Here the words "more than two hundred" signifying not only the renters, but also their agents is of some special interest.

29. *Āmukta,* Canto IV, vv. 255 and 261.

30. *Ibid.,* vv. 207 and 217.

31. At Tirukkaḍaiyūr in Tanjore District. (47 of 1906; *Rep.,* 1907, para 59).

Barbosa, among the men at arms were many knights who gathered at the imperial court from various lands to get their pay. His statement "nevertheless (they) do not cease to live according to their own laws",[32] also suggests that there were in the Vijayanagar army soldiers from many communities or social groups in the Empire. Paes says that there were Muslim soldiers also in the Vijayanagar army.[33]

SECTION III

Divisions of the Army

In ancient India the army was divided into four divisions, namely, infantry, cavalry, elephants and war chariots. But gradually the chariots fell out of use, and by the days of Śrī Harṣa they had disappeared. The Vijayanagar inscriptions refer only to the other three divisions. A record of A.D. 1347[34] mentions, for instance, that the army of the Kadamba king was composed of horsemen, elephants and foot-soldiers. The Bitragunṭa grant of Śaṅgama II hails him as the lion to the troops of the furious elephants of the lords of elephants and horses and men.[35] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Muslim traveller, says that the ruler of Hinawar (Honavar), Sultan Jalāl-ad-Dīn, who was a tributary of Haryab (Harihara 1?), had an army composed of horse and foot.[36] We have no reference to the chariots in that period. But artillery as a division of the army came into existence in the later period of Vijayanagar, thus making the division again four.

But Saletore holds that the Vijayanagar armies consisted of six divisions: "The Vijayanagar rulers....unintentionally followed the medieval precept of Śukra[37] rather than the classical injunc-

32. *Barbosa*, I, p. 212.
33. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
34. In Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District. (*E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375).
35. *E.I.*, III, p. 33.
36. *Ibn Battuṭā*, (The Broadway Travellers Edn.), p. 231.
37. Śukra says: "The king should have his infantry four times the cavalry, bulls one-fifth of his horse, camels one-eighth, elephants one-fourth of the camels, chariots half of the elephants and cannon twice the chariots." (*Śukranīti*, IV, vii, l. 41, p. 128; *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, I, p. 420). But curiously enough Śukra mentions seven and not six. Saletore tries to overcome the difficulty by remarking, "but in reality Śukra merely gave legal sanction to two of the parts already mentioned as auxiliaries by Kau-

tions which restricted the forces to the four well known names," and quotes the authority of an inscription of Dēva Rāya I and the *Bakhair* of Rāma Rāja to support his contention.[38] This inscription states that "he (Dēva Rāya I) having for a long time carried out a fierce military expedition by order of his father king Harihara accompanied by the six components of the army, reached quickly the city."[39] But it must be remarked that it is difficult to conclude that the six "components" in this inscription referred to six divisions. The inscription merely states that there were six kinds of armies (*vidham*) and not six divisions (*aṅga*).[40] The Vijayanagar inscription seems to refer to the different kinds of forces and not to their divisions. The *Bakhair* of Rāma Rāja gives a detailed account of the Hindu forces on the battle-field of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi, and says that there were in them large hosts of horses, camels, elephants, artillery, bulls and foot soldiers.[41] Though the Vijayanagar armies consisted of these six parts, we do not know if they were engaged in the wars. The camels and bulls must have been only auxiliaries of the main army which was active in the battlefield. Nuniz, while describing the Hindu army that marched to the battle of Raicūr, says that there were in it many sumptermules, asses and oxen, which carried all the supplies and many other burdens such as tents and other things.[42] Thus these served only as auxiliaries of the main army. It is, therefore difficult to agree with Saletore that there were six *divisions* in the Vijayanagar army.

tilya—bulls and camels and introduced one new feature—artillery—which was unknown to the age of the *Arthaśāstra*, I, p. 420. Scholars are not agreed on the date of Śukra. It is considered by some that he may be assigned to a period even later than the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

38. *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, I, p. 421.

39. *Nel. Ins.*, I, pp. 4 and 7.

(*Harihara nṛpatah piturnniyōgacciramurarī kṛta caṇḍa daṇḍa yātraḥ sa saraba samalam purimupāgāt sahakṛta ṣaḍvidha sainiko nṛpālaḥ*).

40. The *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kāḷidāsa mentions six kinds of armies. It is said that Raghu with a desire to conquer the directions started with six kinds of armies. (Canto. IV, v. 27). Here the armies referred to are the hereditary (*maula*), mercenary (*bhṛtaka*), belonging to guilds (*śreṇi*), those of an ally (*mitra*), those of an enemy (*amitra*), and those of forest tribes (*āṭavi*).

41. See Saletore, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 417-18.

42. Sewell, *op. cit.*, I, p. 333.

1. *Infantry*: A large portion of the army was made up of foot soldiers. Perhaps, following the injunctions of Kauṭilya about recruitment to armies, Vaiśyas and Śūdras were admitted.[43] As for the dress of the Vijayanagar soldiers, Ferishta says that they generally went to the battlefield "quite naked and had their bodies anointed with oil to prevent their being easily seized."[44] But Paes, while describing the review of the forces by the king, says that their dress was very rich with many colours.[45] But this description only suggests that the soldiers appeared in the best of their dress on ceremonial occasions like their review by the king. And it is quite likely that the common soldiers wore very light dress in the battle-fields.[46] The weapons of warfare used by the Vijayanagar soldiers were swords, arches, bows and arrows, daggers, battle-axes with the shafts, musquets, blunderbusses, javelins, Turkish bows, bombs, spears and fire missiles,[47] short swords and poignards, which were in girdles.[48] The *Madhurāvijayam* and the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* mention the use of such weapons as *śastra* (dagger, sword), *śarāsana* (arrow), *asi* (sword), *karpaṇa* (a kind of spear), *kaṭhārikāstram* (a kind of arrow), *kārmukam*, (bow), *kōdaṇḍam*, *mudgara* (hammer, hammer-like weapon), *prāsa* (missile) etc. The *phalaka* (shield) was employed as a protection against the arrows of the enemies. At times a leather shield (*carmadhāraṇa*) too was used.[49] Referring to the shields Nuniz says that they were so large that there was no need for armour to protect the body.[50] The ins-

43. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IX, ch. 2.
44. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 137.
45. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
46. See *ibid.*, p. 207, and *fn.* 2.

Referring to the dress of the soldiers Sewell says: "the splendid troops between whose lines he (Paes) then passed in the king's procession were probably the *elite* of army, and .... the common soldiers were clad in the lightest of working clothes, many perhaps with hardly any clothes at all, and armed only with spear or dagger" and again "I have seen on several occasions bodies of men collected together at Vijayanagar and the neighbourhood dressed and armed in a manner which they assured me was traditional. They wore rough tunics and short drawers of cotton, stained to a rather dark red brown colour, admirably adapted for forest work, but of a deeper hue than our English Khaki. They grimly assured me that the colour concealed to a great extent the stains of blood from wounds".

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 201 and 277.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 304 and 328.
49. *Madhurāvijayam*, canto III, vv. 2 and 3; IV. v. 10; *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, canto IV, vv. 14, 15, 17, 43; VI, vv. 22 and 24.
50. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328. ,

criptions also refer to the use of such weapons as the axe,[51] and dagger.[52] One may infer from the available evidence[53] that big knives were used for executing persons, and that swords were also used by soldiers in those days.[54]

2. *Cavalry*: The next important division of the army was the cavalry. In fact the Vijayanagar kings were so strong in their cavalry and able to win many of their wars largely with its help that they were generally called *aśvapatis*. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya himself says that he won a battle against the Sultan of Bidar with the help of horses.[55] The foreign policy of the kings was greatly influenced by their keen desire to get a good supply of horses from Ormuz. The pursuit of such a policy was necessitated by the fact that the Carnatic horses were too weak and lean to bear fatigue.[56] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, for instance, purchased every year thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz and country-breads, and kept for himself the best ones.[57] The Vijayanagar kings valued the horses so much, that, if Nuniz may be believed, Saḷuva Narasimha "took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive."[58] Though this is obviously an exaggeration based on hearsay information it shows the great value that the Vijayanagar kings attached to horses. According to the account of Barbosa the price of a horse ranged from 400 to 600 *cruzados*

51. 179 of 1910.

52. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 19.

53. From the illustration in the third volume of the *Epigraphica Carnatica*, of a few weapons of war depicted on the *Vīragals* or memorial stones in some fight probably in A.D. 1491.

54. See *E.C.*, III, *Intro.*, p. 34.

The following description of the Portuguese captains will be found interesting. "They had long whiskers red as copper. They had no mark on their faces, and their ears had no holes (to wear the ear rings). They had long faces with crooked eye brows. They wore red trousers and had red feathers on their caps. They chewed betel and their breath smelt of toddy. Their bodies were covered with armour, and they were provided with big swords. quivers full of arrows and bows". (S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 273).

55. *Amukta*, canto I, v. 42.

56. Scott, *Ferishta*, I, 118; see Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

57. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-82.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 307; for a similar statement of Marco Polo regarding the Pandyan kingdom, See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 192-3.

each.[59] Nuniz, however, gives different prices for them. In one place he says that they were purchased at 4¾ horses per thousand *pardaos*,[60] while elsewhere he remarks that they were selling at the rate of twelve or fifteen for a thousand *pardaos*.[61] Hence as Dames suggests the price of the horse seems to have varied between £ 78 and 26, or 1170 and 390 in Indian rupees.[62]

About expenditure by a king, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says: "The expenditure of money which is utilised in buying elephants and horses, in feeding them, in maintaining soldiers, in the worship of Gods and Brahmans and in one's own enjoyment can never be called an expenditure."[63] In another place he expresses the view that the king should spend half of his income in the maintenance of the army (of which the expenditure on horses formed a large part).[64]

These horses were branded with the king's mark and given over to horsemen with necessary provisions for every month, and when they died the maintainer of the dead horse was obliged to take the piece of skin containing the king's mark to the Chief Master of the Horse so that another was given in its place.[65] Each knight was given one horse for his own riding, a groom and a slave girl for his service and the necessary daily supplies. If he did not maintain the horse properly he was deprived of it and given another which was of an inferior quality.[66] It is said of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya that he maintained sixteen hundred grooms who attended to the horses as also three hundred horse trainers. There were six thousand horsemen who were given horses free.[67]

59. About Rs. 2,325 to 3,375 in the estimate of Dames; *Barbosa*, I, p. 210.
60. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 381 and 361, *fn.* 2.
62. *Barbosa*, I, p. 210.
63. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 262.
64. *Ibid.*, v. 238.
65. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 381. Barbosa's observations on the maintenance of the horses are interesting. He says "if the knight to whom he has given a horse cares for it and treats it well, they take away that one and give him another and a better one; and if he is negligent they take him away and give him another that is worse. And thus all the king's horses and elephants are well fed and cared for at his cost; and the grandees, to whom he gives a great quantity of them, act in the same manner with their knights". (Dames, *op. cit.*, I, p. 211).
66. *Barbosa*, I, p. 210-211.
67. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

The horses were fully caparisoned, with plates on their foreheads, and the cavalrymen wore quilted tunics made of layers of stone raw leather. They were furnished with iron plates to make them strong, and had their umbrellas of state held over their head.[68] Usually lands were granted for the maintenance of horses and to people who supplied fodder for the horses.[69]

3. *Elephants*: Elephants were of great use in ancient and medieval warfare, and the Vijayanagar kings employed them largely in battles. 'Abdur Razzāk says that there were in the court of Dēva Rāya II more than thousand elephants "lofty as hills and gigantic as demons."[70] According to Nikitin large scythes were attached to the trunks of the elephants, and they carried each a citadel in which were twelve men in armour with guns and arrows,[71] but Varthema would have us believe that each elephant carried only six men excluding the driver, and had long swords attached to its trunk in battle.[72] With these may be compared the version of Nuniz that from the howdahs of the war elephants fought four men on either side, and that on their tusks were fastened sharp knives much ground and sharpened with which they did great harm.[73] Paes too says that three or four persons used to fight from the back of the war elephants, and he describes the elephants as covered with caparison of velvet and gold and tied with bells and that on their heads were painted faces of giants and great beasts.[74]

4. *Artillery*: Artillery had no great importance in the wars of medieval South India. It was only in the Vijayanagar days that it came into vogue.[75] Epigraphical evidence also indicates the use

68. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-77. For a note on the quilted tunics see *ibid.*, p. 276, *fn.* 2.

69. E.C., XII, Tm. 52; 216 of 1913. Lands granted for the maintenance of horses appear to have been at times known as *mukhāsa* lands. Wilson says that *mukhāsa* was a village or land assigned to an individual either rent free or at a low quit rent on condition of service. (A *glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, p. 325).

70. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 105.

71. Major, *India*, p. 12.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

73. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

75. It would be interesting to examine here when exactly gun powder began to be used in South India. In describing the battle of 1368 fought between Bukka I and the Bahmani Sultan, the *Tohfut-us-Salātin* mentions

of fire-arms and guns in the Vijayanagar period. An inscription[76] dated A.D. 1441(?) records that one Mahāprabhu Bayica Gavuḍa was supplying gun powder to the Naḍaṅgiri nāḍ Rāja.[77] The use of guns in the Vijayanagar period is further proved by the chronicle of Nuniz. According to his account several cannons were taken by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the Raicūr battle.[78] In the *Āmuktamālyada* the same Emperor speaks of the fortress "which are garrisoned and provided with engines", which may have included guns.[79]

Section IV

The March and the Fight

From the literature and inscriptions of the period we get some interesting details about the declaration of wars, the march of armies and their battles.

Barbosa says that the king decided in his Council as to the necessity for his going to battle.[80] Nuniz also mentions that before he undertook his campaigns against the Sultan of Bijāpūr, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya consulted his Council on the need or propriety of wag-

gun carriages and battering rams. Briggs surmised that it was possible that the Muslims might have procured the guns in 1368 from the West as they had been used by Edward III eighteen years earlier at the battle of Cressy. (*The Rise*, II, p. 312 *fn.*). Thus if the Muslim work is to be believed it is reasonable to infer that guns were used in 1368. Some scholars are inclined to believe that the use of guns and fire arms was not unknown in ancient India; and they base their views on the fact that a few works bearing on ancient Indian *nīti* contain some words which have been interpreted to indicate their use. (See V. R. R. Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, pp. 101-6). Śukrācārya mentions in his work gunpowder and gunners. (IV. ii, vv. 60-63; Saletore, *op. cit.*, I, p. 431). But his date is not clearly known. As said earlier, some scholars believe that he belonged to a period even later than the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

76. In Sagar taluk, Shimoga District.

77. *E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 68. The text has '*Maddina sēvayum naḍasittuda*' it may also mean "who was carrying on the service of medicine', i.e., who was a physician in his service.

78. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

79. Canto IV, v. 264; the use of fire arms is mentioned in the *Sāhityaratnākara* also. (See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 273).

80. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.

ing a war against him.[81] The kings must have discussed with the Council the financial implications and other factors.

The procedure followed in declaring wars is noteworthy. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, for instance, says that Narasiṁha resolved to set out on an expedition of conquest of Udayagiri and ordered a public announcement of the same.[82] Just before starting on the same, leading chieftains and feudal vassals were summoned to court and given rich presents. They were also entertained at a banquet.[83] Then an advance army was sent into the enemy's territory. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is said to have asked a part of his army to proceed to a distance of three *āmaḍas* (thirty miles) into the enemy's territory and gather from there men, cattle, sheep, and goats that they may not be available to the enemy.[84] The king himself started a little later, having made offerings and sacrifices to the gods.[85] According to Barbosa's vivid account, on the appointed day the king went to an open space mounted on an elephant or a palanquin as if for his pleasure, along with his horsemen and foot soldiers and many elephants drawn up in a line, all richly dressed. He then mounted a horse and shot an arrow in the direction of the country with which he was about to wage war. He then gave out in how many days he would be starting for the war.[86]

These preliminaries over, the army started on the march. There were no forced marches then. If Barbosa may be believed, the army marched only three leagues a day, and soon after the day's march was over, the soldiers built a town of straw on some open space and erected houses arranged in streets where they halted for three days, after which they again proceeded to the next camping ground. They marched at that rate until they reached the appointed place.[87]

81. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-25.
82. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 91.
This is in a way confirmed by Nuniz, who in describing the advance troops that went to Raicūr, says: "Three or four leagues in front of this multitude go some fifty thousand men who are like scouts; they have to spy out the country in front and always keep at a distance". (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328).
83. *Ibid.*, p. 111; see also p. 130 for Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's reception.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 326; *Sāhityaratnākaram*, canto XIV, vv. 30-34.
86. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

The temporary camp of the king and his soldiers presented the appearance more of a festive city than of a military camp. The camp itself was divided into many streets; and there were markets in them, where could be had all the necessaries of life and even luxuries like diamonds and precious stones for sale. There were also professional hucksters and craftsmen in the armies. The king stayed in a tent specially erected for him and surrounded by a great hedge of thorns, with only one entrance. The guards who were outside were on their watch at fixed spots all through the night. There were also spies at work who patrolled all night through the camp and watched for any of the enemy spies.[88] There were a large number of public women; in the army that marched to Raicūr they numbered twenty thousand. In the armies there were also thousands of men with water-skins who sought water for the fighting men lest they should die of thirst. There were besides, many merchants in the armies with all supplies.[89] The presence of merchants in them is also borne out by the evidence of epigraphy.[90]

One does not get enough details about the fighting arrangements of the army. Nuniz says that Kṛṣnadēva Rāya 'divided his army into seven wings' at the battle of Raicūr.[91] In the battle of Rakṣas Tangḍi the Hindu army was divided into three wings—the right was under the charge of Tirumala and the left under the charge of Veṅkaṭādri, while the centre was commanded by Rāma Rāja himself.[92]

The army was divided into many units. According to the *Rāmarājīyamu,* when Bukka Rāju Rāma Rāju marched against the fort of Kandanavōlu (Kurnool) which was then under the occupation of Savāi (the Ādil Khān) and laid siege to it, each unit of his army is said to have consisted of one elephant, twenty horses, sixty swordsmen and sixty spearmen. There were 3,500 such units.[93] But it is not known whether the numbers are accurate.

88. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-34.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 328-29.

90. An incomplete inscription at Tirumalai in the Chittore District mentions a merchant in an army (*T.T.D.I.*, I, No. 236).

91. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

92. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 204.

93. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 102.

From contemporary inscriptions one learns something about the methods of fight prevalent in those days.[94] Hand to hand fight seems to have been in vogue. A record says that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha snatched a sword (*kaṭhāri*) from a warrior in the course of a hand to hand fight and that on account of this he was called *Kaṭhāri Sāḷuva*.[95] The *Madhurāvijayam* also describes a similar fight which took place outside the Rājagambhīra fort between Kampaṇa and the Śambuvarāya chief, who was the lord of that region.[96]

A practice peculiar to the wars, then, was that of setting fire to temporary cities put up for the army on its route. Barbosa mentions the practice, but curiously enough says that the king issued a proclamation ordering the whole city to be set fire to except the palaces, fortresses, temples and the non-thatched houses of certain lords so that all men might attend with their wives, sons, and households.[97] Dames has ridiculed this statement of Barbosa that it was evidently the interpolation of an intelligent copyist. According to him what Barbosa said was, "not that the king set fire to his capital, but that when he was on the march before starting for the next camping ground, he had the temporary town of grass huts which had been erected for the accommodation of his army burnt."[98] The inscriptions do not throw any direct light on this interesting question.[99]

94. According to Rice an inscription of A.D. 1403 mentions a particular kind of fight called *sāmbrāṇi*. It states that the *Mahānāyakācārya* having a mind to see a fight with left foot advanced and the right foot in the *sāmbrāni* fashion, one Cennappa fighting against Canda Bōva in front of his master in a battle at Nāgārjunakōṭe died and went to the feet of the Gods in the world of Gods. The exact phrase used in the transliterated text of the inscription is *yeḍada kāla śāci balada kāla sāmbrāni rana*. It is not, however, found in the Kannaḍa text but is supplied by Rice. The Kannaḍa text has *svambrāni rana;* and there is nothing to justify the addition of the word 'fashion'. It seems to refer to a battle fought at a place probably called Svambrāṇi (See *E.C.*, XI, Ck. 42.)

95. *M.A.R.*, 1925, No. 111. However, the title *Kaṭhāri* was borne by the Sāḷuvas even before the time of Narasiṁha.

96. Canto IV, vv. 77-82.

97. *Barbosa*, I, p. 225.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 225, *fn.*

99. A record of A.D. 1537-38 found at Kīranūr in the former Pudukkōṭṭai State contains an inprecation in the following words:

Cidambaram Śiyāli Puḷḷuyirukku Vēḷūrilē nerippiṭṭa pāvattilē pōga kadavan. (*I.P.S.* 744).

They were all religious centres. The imprecation has nothing to do with the practice of setting fire to temporary military camps.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya suggests that the kings must not go personally into the enemy country, and that "it is meet that he appoints one of his lords and sends him on the business."[100] Barbosa says that the king of Vijayanagar seldom went to war himself but sent his captains and armies.[101] It is likely that the kings did not themselves lead expeditions unless they were driven to that necessity. Acyuta Rāya, for instance, though he takes credit for the subjugation of many of his provinces, yet does not seem to have taken the field himself. When Cellappa's rebellion was being put down, he was spending his time in the company of scholars at Śrīraṅgam.[102] But curiously enough Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was in this respect an exception to his own maxim. Even to quell a small rebellion he took the field in person.

From the *Rāyavācakamu* we learn that betel and nut were given while commissioning a general to lead the forces. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, having heard from his spies of the atrocities committed by the Muslims in his dominions summoned from among his *amaranāyakam* generals the chief Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅga, and asked his advice as to how he was to act under the circumstances. Rāmaliṅga assured the king that if he should be entrusted with the commission he could rout the enemy in no time. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya approved of the idea, and presented him with betel and nut in token of his leadership in the attack.[103]

In the course of the fight, if the kings led the armies, they themselves encouraged the soldiers to fight, or in their absence appointed men for the purpose. Ferishta says that Bukka I asked the Brahmans to deliver sermons to his troops on the merit of slaughtering Muslims for they were the destroyers of Hindu temples and images and cows.[104] When Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya saw that the Muslims had made his forces take to their heels in the initial stages of the battle of Raicūr, he rebuked his soldiers for their cowardice, and encouraged them by saying that since all of them had to die some day, they should meet their death boldly at the battlefield as was their custom.[105] In the battle of Rakṣas Tangḍi, Tirumala, the

100. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 255.
101. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.
102. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 159-60.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
104. Briggs, *The Rice*, II, p. 314.
105. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39.

brother of Rāma Rāja, lost one of his eyes and fled from the battle-field. When the latter heard this, his anger knew no bounds, and in order to encourage his troops he remounted his horse, and shouting several times "*Gorida, Gorida!*" charged the allied armies with his men.[106]

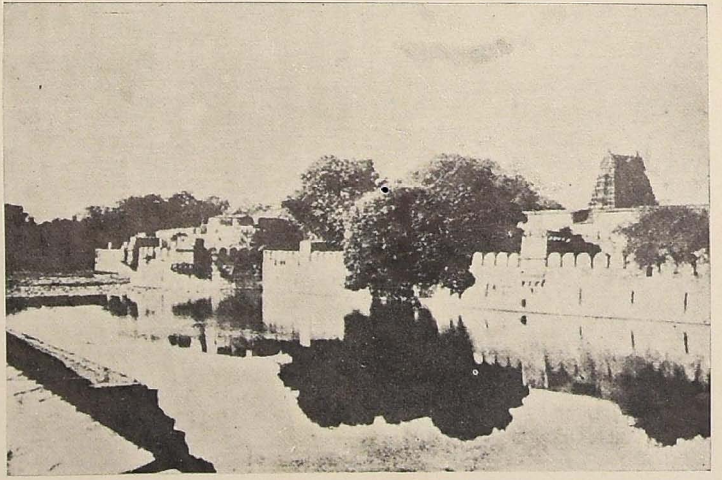
Section V

The Fort and the Siege

In the wars of the middle ages forts played an important part. No province was without a few forts with military contingents stationed to guard the country from external aggression and put down internal rebellion. Even in the days of the Mahrattas the forts were of immense use in times of war. They were strongly garrisoned; and it was only at enormous cost and considerable loss of life, not to speak of the tediously long months and years spent, that many of them were reduced by the Mughals, and the British. The Vijayanagar kings too realised the necessity and the usefulness of forts and constructed many where they did not exist. An inscription in the fort at Guṭṭi in the Anantapur District describes the Guṭṭi *Durga* as the nave of the wheel of the sovereignty over the whole earth of the illustrious king Bukka.[107]

The forts can be classified under four heads. They are *sthala durga* (fort built on land), *jala durga* (fort surrounded by water), *giri durga* (hill fort) and *vanadurga* (fort built in the midst of forests).[108] It was not all places that had forts but only the capital and certain places in the Empire. The other kinds of fortifications were natural ones like forests and mountains. They were intended to ward off trouble from enemies and robbers. About afforestation near the fortresses on the frontiers of the Empire the *Āmuktamālyada* says: "Increase the forests that are near your frontier fortress (*gadideśa*) and destroy all those that are in the middle of your territory. Then alone you will not have trouble from robbers."[109] Paes also, remarks that there were

106. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 208; Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93.
107. *S.I.I.*, I, p. 167; 85 of 1903.
108. *Rāyavācakamu, Jour. of the Tel. Aca.*, III, p. 30.
109. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 256.



Vellore Fort, East View, Vellore, North Arcot Dist.

fortresses on the frontiers of the Vijayanagar Empire and that forests were reared near them. He says that on the east of the two kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Orissa there were very dense forests which formed strong fortresses on both sides.[110]

Forts were erected also in the regions newly conquered or where there were certain rebellious tribes. The inscriptions of the period refer to the *paḍaiparṟu* which literally means a military station or a cantonment. For instance, an inscription of A.D. 1406[111] mentions that the place was a *paḍaipparṟu*. Probably the cantonment station was also known as *paḍaivīḍu*. Invariably there was a fort in each of these military centres where some military were stationed. Evidently for the maintenance of these forts a tax called the *kōṭṭai paṇam* was collected from the people.[112]

From the inscriptions of the period we get some glimpse of a few of the parts of the forts. They were the moat, the rampart, the flag-staff, the parapet, the bastions and breast works.[113] The importance of the bastion is thus indicated in an inscription. It states that one Śiṅga Rāja erected the bastion named *Rājagambhīra* and called it the indispensable bastion (*avasarada kōṭṭaḷa*).[114] There were also special bastions for placing cannon.[115] A few of the more important and strategical places seem to have had two lines of fortifications, the inner and the outer. An inscription[116] records, for instance, that Śiṅga Rāja by order of Gōpa Rāja erected both the inner and outer forts (fortifications) in Tēkal in A.D. 1434. Some of the forts had towers. According to an inscription, four towers were constructed for the fort at Kaṇḍahaḷḷi.[117] The fort was generally a town in itself. There were probably separate streets and colonies for the various communities of people residing in it. An inscription dated A.D. 1536-37, for instance, refers to a Brahman street within the fort of the place.[118] Many of the forts seem to have had temples within them.

110. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44.
111. Found at Kiranūr, Tiruchirapalli District, (*I.P.S.*, 650). The term *paḍaiparṟu* is interpreted also as a military fief.
112. *T.A.S.*, V, pt. iii, p. 205; see *ante*, p. 67 and *fn.* 162.
113. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 2.
114. *Ibid.*, X, Mr. 1.
115. *Ibid.*, V. Cn. 160.
116. *Ibid.*, X, Mr. 1 and 4. In Mālūr taluk, Kolar District.
117. In Hiriyūr taluk, Chitaldrug District; *E.C.*, XI, Hr. 39.
118. At Tiruvaḍi, South Arcot District.

An inscription at Candragiri dated A.D. 1537 mentions two temples within the fort at the place.[119]

Paes says that the whole country was thickly populated with cities and villages and towns which were surrounded only by earthen walls lest they should become too strong.[120] But if the city was situated near the borders of the Empire it was allowed to have stone walls, so that it was possible to "make fortresses of the cities, but not of the towns."[121]

About the methods of siege one does not get much information. But the following details may be gathered from the literature and inscriptions of the period. On some occasions the king or general who besieged a fort threw his trumpet inside it and fetched it back after capturing it. An inscription in the Mysore State describes this as the method that was followed by Kaṭhāri Sāḷuva.[122] Nuniz gives a cogent and clear description of the siege of Raicūr by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya which might have been one of the methods adopted with regard to the capture of forts in those days.[123] At times when access to a particular fortified city or fort was rendered difficult by the inundation of the rivers surrounding it, then the waters were sought to be directed into new channels. When Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya marched to lay siege to the city where the lord of the land of 'Catuir' was, he was prevented from doing so as the city was surrounded by water. Hence he diverted the river in 'fifty different beds' as a result of which all the water drained out of the main river and the Emperor was able to reach the walls on the fortified city.[124]

The *Rāyavācakamu* gives some interesting details about what was done after the capture of a particular fort: Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya easily captured the outskirts of the city of Ahmadnagar and fought a pitched battle with the enemy's horse outside the city. In a very short time, 2800 of the enemy's cavalry were destroyed, and

119. 244 of 1904.
120. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 111.
123. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-31 and 343-44.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 321; for a discussion of the identification of Catuir, see *T.T.D.J.*, pp. 181-83; *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 290-300; N. Venkataramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 447-52; S. K. Aiyangar, *A yet remembered Ruler of a Long Forgotten Empire*, pp. 8-11.

the emperor gained complete victory. The garrison within the fort thought that it could not stand a siege by the invader, and in order to avoid the storming of the fort, evacuated it and retreated to the interior. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya thus got possession of the fort very easily and directed the fortifications to be destroyed. He then ordered castor seeds to be sown where the fortifications had stood.[125]

These instances show that different methods were adopted for the capture of forts; there could not have been any hard and fast rule as to how a fort was to be taken, for the method adopted must have depended upon circumstances.

Section VI

Military Organisation

Of the many branches of government the Military Department was one; and in the Vijayanagar days it was called the *kandācāra*.[126] We get only very little information from inscriptions about the Military Department and the various officers in it. There was a chief officer in charge of it and he was variously called the *Sēnāpati*,[127] *Sarvasainyādhikāri*[128] and *Daḷavāy*.[129] He attended to the administration of the Department. It is likely he was a member of the Ministerial Council.[130]

As regards the minor officers of the army Nuniz mentions two, of whom one was the Commander of the Palace Guards and the other was the Chief Master of the Horse.[131] As for the officer

125. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 114-15.

126. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 579; *E.C.*, XI, Jl. 24. This term is made up of two words *Skanda* and *ācāra* meaning usage or practice of Skanda, the armygod. *i.e.*, the god of war. *Kanda* is the Prākṛt form of Skanda. See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI-42-22 where the term *Skandāvāra* is used in the sense of military camp.

127. 18 of 1889.

128. *E.C.*, XI, Dv. 29.

129. 145 of 1924; 309 of 1923.

130. The distinction between a *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Daḷavāy* has been noted earlier. While the title *Daṇḍanāyaka* was a general one which was borne by many of the officers of government, including those of the Civil Department, the title *Daḷavāy* was a special one taken by officers in charge of the army.

131. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

in charge of elephants he has nothing to say, though there must have been one in charge of them. One does not get reference either in inscriptions or in literature to the various grades of military officers, probably because the military organisation was largely based on feudal principles. But from the accounts of foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar we are able to learn that the status of a militâry commander depended on the number of horses and foot soldiers he was allowed to maintain under him. Paes says: "Some men of them who are of a higher rank than others have two horses or three and others have no more than one."[132] An inscription of A.D. 1447 refers to a chief who had 1,000 horses and 100,000 foot.[133]

The soldiers were generally paid in cash from the king's treasury. This is borne out by the writings of the foreign travellers. But they differ widely in the details they give about the time of payment. 'Abdur Razzāk says: "The sipahis receive their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces."[134] Paes, however, remarks that the king (Kṛṣṇadēva Ṛāya) held a review of his guard and paid them all, because it was the beginning of the year, and it was their custom to pay salaries year by year.[135] However, about the soldiers (among whom were horsemen, spearmen, shield-bearers, men in the elephants' stables, grooms, horse trainers and artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, carpenters and washermen) Nuniz says: "These are the people he has and pays every day; he gives them their allowance at the gate of the palace."[136] Here it seems likely that the soldiers in the imperial service got only their daily allowance every day for their maintenance and not their pay. If Nuniz means by his statement that the pay of the soldiers was also given to them daily, he may be wrong. But it is difficult to account for the difference between the statements of 'Abdur Razzāk and Paes. We may assume, however, that by the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya a change was effected in the method of payment to the soldiers, and that annual payments were preferred to payments three times every year.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
133. 33 of 1917.
134. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 109.
135. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

It is from foreign chronicles again that we get an idea of the pay the soldiers received. According to Barbosa the monthly pay of the men at arms was four to five *pardaos,* which, Dames calculated to range between £ 1-10s. and £ 1-17s.-4d., or in current Indian rupees between 22: 50 naye paise and 28. He also remarks: "This would not be considered low even at the present day, and in the early sixteenth century when taken in connection with the other privileges, it means affluence."[137] Paes too gives an idea of the annual pay of the troops of the guard ranged between six hundred and a thousand *pardaos.* Thus the annual pay of the highest military officer was about Rs. 47,000, which it must be admitted was not after all low considering the enormous privileges he enjoyed.[138]

The government granted lands to people in return for the supply of the necessaries for the armies. An inscription dated A.D. 1558 and found at Kaure in the Chitaldrug District, records the grant of land, formerly given for the maintenance of troops but then placed rent free in the hands of Rāmappa Gauḍa, in the village Kaure as *hul koḍage* and *ura koḍage.* This probably means that these lands were to be enjoyed by the whole body of villagers rent free on condition that they supplied fodder to the army.[139]

Another inscription dated A.D. 1447 records that a service *mānya* was granted by the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Pratāpa Rāya to Pedda Ceppappa Reḍḍi, the *deśāyi* of Māyikoṭṭapura. It states: "For the service of supplying grass to our horses we have ordered that the lands now in the enjoyment of your people of the Samudra-kulācāra wherever they may reside should be free from imposts specified. You are at liberty to cultivate the lands in your places well and to enjoy in succession whatever crops you may grow with all rights specified and without army molestation."[140]

137. *Barbosa,* I, pp. 210 and 211 *fn.*

138. Sewell, *op. cit.,* p. 283. The administration of a large establishment like the army involves the maintenance of good accounts for which unfortunately there is no direct evidence in Vijayanagar. But we get an indirect suggestion by the reference to *Sēnāpatya Kaṇakku* (military accounts) in two inscriptions of the later Pāṇḍyas of Teṇkāśi (557 and 572 of 1917). What obtained in a provincial or subordinate administrative unit may have obtained at the imperial capital also.

139. *M.A.R.,* 1929, No. 11.

140. *E.C.,* XII, Tm. 52.

At the close of the *Mahānavami* festival every year the king held a general review of the forces. It is not known if this practice of the review of the army existed in the Hindu empires in India before the days of Vijayanagar. It would appear that this was a Muslim practice and it was perhaps in imitation of their northern neighbours that the Vijayanagar kings held their annual reviews. Paes, who was an eye-witness to one such review held by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, gives a graphic and vivid account: All the soldiers, horses, elephants and captains gathered together near the capital, in the best of their attire. The king dressed in the best of his robes held the review by riding on his horse before the soldiers amidst scenes of great noise and enthusiasm to a tent pitched on one side of the army where he performed certain ceremonies and returned again amidst similar scenes of exuberent joy and exultant cries of the soldiers.[141] Nuniz adds that when the king had reached the other end of the army he shot three arrows namely one for the Ydallcão, another for the king of Cotamuloco and yet another for the Portuguese, and that it was the king's custom to make war on the kingdom lying in the direction where the arrow reached farthest.[142] Barbosa also mentions this practice. It is said to have been one of the formalities which the Rāyas observed before the declaration of war on their enemies.[143] But Paes makes no mention of this practice, though he was an eye-witness to one of such reviews. Hence it is difficult to believe Nuniz and Barbosa. After all it may have been only a popular belief about the significance of the three shots.

Here a word may be said about military routes. In ancient and medieval India roads were made for two purposes: for the facility of trade and for the march of the armies. A few Vijayanagar inscriptions refer to military roads. A record of A.D. 1524 mentions *daṇḍina dāri* and *daṇḍamārga* (military road).[144] Two records of the time of Sadāśiva Rāya found at Halegere in the Bellary District also refer to the *daṇḍudova* (military route).[145]

The Hindu army of Vijayanagar was large in size but lacked in efficiency. Hence Dēva Rāya II introduced some reforms in

141. See Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-79.
142. *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79.
143. *Barbosa*, I, p. 224.
144. *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 133-34.
145. 730 and 731 of 1919.

his army. Ferishta, the only authority who speaks about this reorganisation of the forces, says: "He (Dēva Rāya II) called a general council of his nobility and principal Brahmins, observing to them that as his country of Carnatic in extent, population and revenue far exceedeth the territories of the house of Bahmanee; and in like manner his army was far more numerous, he wished therefore to explore the cause of the Mussulman's successes, and his being reduced to pay them tribute. Some said .... that the superiority of the Mussulmans arose from two circumstances; one, all their horses being strong, and being able to bear more fatigue than the weak lean animals of Carnatic; the other a great body of excellent archers always kept up by the Sultan of the house of Bahmanee of whom the Roy had but a few in his army."

"Dee Roy upon this gave orders for the entertainment of Mussulmans in his service, allotted them jaghires, erected a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur, and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion. He also ordered a *Koraun* to be placed before his throne, on a rich desk, that the Mussulmans might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws. He also made all the Hindoo soldiers learn the discipline of the bow; in which he and his officers used such exertions that he had at length two thousand Mussulmans and sixty thousand Hindoos well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances."[146]

The entertainment of the Muslims in the Hindu army in Vijayanagar is borne out by other pieces of evidence also. Paes in describing the army of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya remarks: "The Moors—one must not forget them—for they were there also in the review with their shields, javelins and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire missiles; and I was much astonished to find amongst them men who knew so well how to work these weapons."[147] According to a record of A.D. 1430 Dēva Rāya II had ten thousand Turuṣka horsemen in this service.[148] A record of A.D. 1440-41 mentions one Ahmad Khān, who was a servant of the king Vīra Pratāpa Dēva Rāya II, and constructed a well.[149]

146. Scott. *Ferishta*, I, p. 118; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
147. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-78.
148. E.C., III. Sr. 15.
149. 18 of 1904.

According to an inscription of Sadāśiva Rāya the Emperor made a grant to Brahmans at the request of one Ain-ul-Mulk,[150] and this presupposes the existence of good relations between the Muslims and the Hindus. The anonymous chronicler says that Rāma Rāja used to call this Ain-ul-Mulk his brother.[151]

But it must be noted that though there was so much apparent harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims, the enlistment of the latter in the Hindu army in those days was a dangerous step taken by Dēva Rāya II. Though it was done with the best of intentions, ultimately it proved to be a fatal policy, as borne out by the treacherous attitude of two Muslims in the service of Vijayanagar at the hour of need during the battle of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi. It is Caesar Frederick who gives an account of the treachery; and but for it one would be in the dark about the real cause of the defeat of the Hindus at the historic battle. He says: "These foure Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge three score and ten or foure score thousand men. These two Captaines being of one religion with the foure Kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King and made such disorder in his Armie that as astonied they set themselves to flight."[152] Anquetil du Perron endorses this statement when he observes: "The king abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs perished."[153]

We may examine here if there was a War Council in the Vijayanagar days. The evidence on the question shows that there

150. *E.I.*, XIV, p. 231, vv. 64-68.
151. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 381.
152. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 92-93.
153. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 212, *fn.* 2 and C. R. Krishnamacharlu, 'The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire', *Ind. Ant.*, LII, p. 11.

was a general Council which the kings consulted, but it was not a mere War Council. In times of peace it attended to the ordinary administration of the Empire. The Councillors were men of distinction and hence were consulted on all matters of state, civil and military. Ferishta speaking about the reorganisation of the Vijayanagar armies in the days of Dēva Rāya II says, the king "called a general council of his nobility and principal Brahmins",[154] which shows that members of his Council were allowed to discuss the question. Nuniz too mentions the Council of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya which he consulted before he undertook his campaigns against the Sultan of Bijāpūr.[155] But how far was the advice tendered by the Council binding on the kings? Though the kings sought the advice of their Council at times of war they do not seem to have been bound to act up to the advice given by it. Everything depended on the strength of will of the sovereign. If he was strong enough to have his own way he could well do so. For instance, when Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh refused to surrender Cide Mercar, a Vijayanagar fugitive in the Bijāpūr territory, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya summoned "the great lords of his council," told them that he was determined to take full vengeance on him, and asked them to make ready for the war, the pleadings of the Councillors that the cause for the proposed war was too small fell only on deaf ears; so they "finding the king unmoved" in spite of their strong protests contented themselves with advising him on the route he was to take for his campaigns. The king seeing the soundness of their advice accepted it, and prepared for his march.[156] This account given by Nuniz clearly shows that the kings accepted the advice of the Councillors only if it was agreeable to them.

In spite of the huge size and elaborate organisation of the army in Vijayanagar, it was inefficient when compared with that of the Muslim neighbours. Individual soldiers may have been brave; a few may have been good and trained warriors. But as an organised body the army was inefficient. Dēva Rāya II effected some improvements to secure its efficiency but they were not enough. He contented himself with the reorganisation of the imperial forces, but forgot the fact that the Vijayanagar armies were made up of feudal levies also. His reforms did not affect the character of the

154. Scott, *Ferishta*, I, p. 118; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
155. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
156. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.

feudal armies. The people converted their ploughshares into sword blades just before a war, and when the war was over they settled on land again.

When the military is organised on a feudal basis it cannot be strong. Centrifugal tendencies are sure to assert themselves where the central government is not strong enough to enforce its commands. Military contingents are not sent whenever ordered. And the provinces sometimes begin to take sides in court intrigues and palace revolutions. When there was a dispute at the capital over succession on the death of Veṅkaṭa II the weakness of the feudal arrangement became fully revealed. Madura, because of its comparative distance from the imperial headquarters, was able to hold its own against Vijayanagar. The Nāyak rulers of Madura rebelled as often as they could against the imperial yoke. Thus the cooperation of the feudatories in the imperial policy was neither hearty nor regular. Further, the feudal basis of the military organisation was always a source of danger. The feudal chief or military vassal had his own standing army and a number of smaller feudatory vassals under him, who were responsible to him and not to the king at the imperial headquarters. The feudal chief could hold his own against the Emperor without the fear that his own vassal would join the Emperor against himself. This was a source of weakness to the military organisation in the Empire. When there was a line of weak kings at the centre, and strong and able chiefs in the provinces, the Empire lost its unity and coherence. The feudal vassals waged wars and led campaigns into the territories of one another altogether ignoring the existence of the central government. Under such a system the military organisation could not be efficient.

Further the fact that large number of courtezans were officially attached to the army must have contributed not a little to its inefficiency. It is amusing to hear Barbosa say that the kings ordered the men to take their families with them under the idea "that men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household goods on them."[157] If it was so, it was a mistaken notion for really their presence in the battlefield could not have contributed to the courage of the soldiers, but only to their inefficiency. The women must have been a dead weight on them. It must be admitted, however, that the Hindus were not the only

157. *Barbosa*, I, p. 225.

people who laboured under this disadvantage, for the Muslims also had similar disabilities.

The Navy: A few words may be said here about the Vijayanagar naval organisation. There was a naval department which worked perhaps under the guidance of the *Pradhāni* or more probably under the guidance of the Commander-in-chief. And without a navy, it would not have been possible to reduce parts of Ceylon and Burma to subjection, as they apparently were for some time.[158] But the Vijayanagar kings were so much occupied with their day-to-day internal administration that in ignorance of the broader issues of their national policy, they, like many other Hindu governments, failed to improve the naval organisation in the Empire. The ease with which the Portuguese came to South India, and the trouble they gave to the people, especially on the fishery coast, were in a large measure due to the neglect of the fleet by the kings. 'Abdur Razzāk, of course, mentions that there were three hundred ports in the Empire,[159] which must have been active; but they indicate more the commercial activity in the Empire, and not its naval strength. Piracy was rampant on the seas; and the Vijayanagar kings could not check this mainly owing to the want of a fully equipped naval force.

Section VII

Character of the Wars

In ancient India mere earth hunger was not the cause of wars. According to ancient Hindu *Dharma* though wars might be waged with heavy losses of men and money on both sides, yet they were to be righteous ones. The peace-loving Brahmans and the contented peasants working in the fields were not to be molested. Likewise, women and children. Megasthenes was very much pleased to see this state of affairs existing in North India during the time of his visit.

158. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-2. Rice mentions an officer called *Nāviyada-prabhu* and calls him the lord of the navy. The inscription which mentions the officer reads as follows:

Śrīman Nāviyada Prabhu Mangalūra Nāga Gauḍara maga Śeṭṭi Uḍaru. It means only Śeṭṭi Uḍaru, son of Mangalūru Nāga Gauḍa, the *Prabhu* of Nāviya. Here Nāviya appears to be the name of a place (*E.C.*, VIII, Sb, 467).

159. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 103.

In the Vijayanagar court, "foreign conquest was a more fashionable theme than domestic finance."[160] Of course, the old ideas about righteous warfare were remembered; but how far the theories were translated into actual practice is a question. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, however, not only laid down certain principles that must guide the kings in their war policy, but also acted up to them in certain respects.

In the war in 1366 waged between the Hindus and Muslims, the Vijayanagar king "with a rancorous cruelty put men, women and children to the sword," and Muhammad Shāh, the Bahmani Sultan committed the same excesses and did not spare even children at the breast.[161] In 1417 "the Hindus made a general massacre of the Mussalmans, erected a platform with their heads on the field of battle, and pursuing the king into his own country laid it waste with fire and sword." Sultan Ahmad took vengeance on the Hindu king, invaded the Vijayanagar territory, massacred the people without mercy, and "whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event."[162] Rāma Rāya left no cruelty unpractised in the Muslim territories. He destroyed their mosques, insulted the honour of Muslim women, "and committed the most outrageous devastation, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques and performing their abominable worship in the holy places".[163] While discussing the character of the wars in medieval India the view has been expressed that "warfare in India was humane as contrasted with the horrors of war wrought by the foreigners in India".[164] But it must be noted that the high ideals, found in the *Śāstra* texts did not generally guide the actual policy of either the Vijayanagar kings or their Muslim neighbours.

But, as said earlier, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was an exception to the generality of rulers. He was disposed to treat the women of the enemies' harem that fell into his hands with regard. He says in his *Āmuktamālyada*: "Capture the territory as well as the fortresses of your enemies. If the harem of the enemy chances to fall in your hands see that they are looked after as if they were

160. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I, p. 13.
161. See Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 310 and 316-19.
162. *Ibid.*, pp. 390-91 and 402.
163. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 120-21, 239-43 and 331.
164. S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, II, p. 172.

with their parents".[165] In the course of his wars against the Gajapati, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya made many captives among whom was the 'wife' of the king of Orissa. But later, according to the terms of the treaty concluded between the two rulers, he restored the "wife" to the Gajapati.[166]

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had tender solicitude for the life of non-combatants. Soon after the battle of Raicūr he was immensely grieved at the fact that many had been cruelly killed. He "out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, saying that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault; which order was at once obeyed by all the captains so that each one withdrew all his forces".[167] On the successful termination of the battle he made a general release of a large number of men, women and boys who had taken prisoners in the course of the war; and gave permission to the residents of Raicūr to stay in or leave the city; he also promised them that he would spare all their property, and punished his men when they robbed unclaimed property.[168]

Loss of life by eminent soldiers in battle was compensated by large grants of lands to the families of the deceased. In 1379 one Malli, son of Malli Gauḍa, was granted a *koḍage* in appreciation of the services rendered by him in fighting and dying in a battle.[169] In 1421 the family of one Rāya Nayāka was granted some land in memory of his death in a war with the *nāyakas*.[170] An inscription of A. D. 1564[171] records the grant of a charter to Cāmarasa Voḍeyār since his father Dēvappa Gauḍa was killed unjustly by Sanjar Khān or which he was granted as *rakta koḍage* the Ganiganūr *thala* within the Hadināḍ country. Distinguished service in war was rewarded by conferment of military. A few of such titles are *Rāghuttamiṇḍān, Araśamārttāṇḍan*,[172] *Saṅgrāmadēva* and *Samaramuttiran*.[173]

165. Canto IV, V. 267.
166. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
167. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40.
168. *Ibid.*, pp. 432-43.
169. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 120.
170. *Ibid.*, 1923, No. 83.
171. In Yēlandūr taluk, Mysore State; *E.C.*, IV, Yl. 29.
172. 252 of 1928-29.
173. 247 of 1928-29.

One point that deserves to be examined here is the way in which the Vijayanagar kings arranged for the administration of the conquered provinces. "Conquest is not an end in itself; victory is counterbalanced by responsibilities and acquisitions by the necessity of having to provide for safeguarding them." According to the principles of righteous warfare the conquered ruler was to be reinstated in his position, but as a subordinate of the conqueror whenever possible.

The Śambuvarāya chief who was ruling over the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom, though defeated, was reinstated in his position, but as a subordinate chief of the Vijayanagar king. This is indicated by literary and epigraphical evidence. The *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* and the *Rāmābhyudayam* say that the Śambuvarāya was reinstead in his position as king of Paḍaivīḍu after his defeat.[174] This is confirmed by an inscription[175] which records that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārayya Nāyaka, son of Sōmayya Daṇḍanāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāni* of Kampaṇa II, defeated and took captive Veṉṟumān Śambuvarāya and captured Rājagambhīramalai. But according to the *Madhurāvijayam* the Śambuvarāya chief was defeated and killed in single combat by Kampaṇa.[176] Evidently this is an exaggerated account by the royal poetess possibly to glorify the achievements of her lord.

From a few records of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya we are able to infer that after the conquest of Gaṅga Rāja, the Ummattūr chief, he restored the province to the family of the rebel governor.[177] But it would appear that he retained the Terakanāmbi province which probably formed a part of Gaṅga Rāja's territories, and appointed Gōvinda Rāja, the brother of Sāḷuva Timma, as its governor.[178]

174. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 30-32 and 50.

175. At Mādam, North Arcot District. (267 of 1919; *Rep.*, para 37; and *M.E.R.*, 1927-28, para 33) the words used in the inscription are *Veṉṟumaṉ-raiyum [jayi] ttu kaippiḍiyāgappiḍittu* .... V. Venkatasubba Aiyar who has edited the inscription says that the Śambuvarāya chieftain mentioned in the record must be Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya the son of *Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍa* Śambuvarāya for the latter had died even so early as A.D. 1340 (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, p. 157; also see 32 and 33 of 1933-34 in both of which it is said that his ashes were thrown into the Ganges and arrangements were made for the funeral rites to be performed at Gayā).

176. *Madhurāvijayam, Intro.*, p. 5.

177. *E.C.* III, Sr. 6; see also *Ibid.*, My. 5.

178. *Ibid.*, IV, Gp. 3 and 35; III, Tn. 42 and 73.

Section VIII

Foreign Policy

The Vijayanagar Empire had to pursue a vigorous and vigilant foreign policy calculated to strengthen its position. Hemmed in by the Muslims on the north, the Gajapatis on the north-east, the refractory feudatory vassals studded over the frontiers of the Empire and by the Portuguese on the coastal regions on the west and east from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Vijayanagar kings had a difficult task. Of course religious fanaticism and racial prejudice to some extent influenced their relations with the Muslims; but it must be said that the Vijayanagar kings did not fall below the standards set up by the kings of ancient India in their foreign policy.

One of the striking features of their policy was the maintenance of frontier governorships which were in the nature of Wardenships of the Marches. They were quite necessary in those days in view of the constant menace of foreign invasions into the Vijayanagar dominions and of rebellions, fomented from abroad. Among such buffers were the kingdoms of Bengapor, Gasopa, Bacanor, Calecu, Batecala on the west and south, and a large number of others. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya gives certain concrete suggestions for the policy to be followed towards neighbouring states and their officers: "If you think that the holder of foreign fortresses on your frontier can easily be worsted then it is fit to overcome him. If you do not think so the best course is to make friendship with him. Of what use is the holder of a foreign (enemy) fortress when the governor of your own fortress is your enemy? The fortress should be protected for his own sake."[179] Likewise the suggestions of the Emperor with regard to the subjugation of the forest tribes are very practical and wise. In dealing with the backward and refractory tribes he wants their psychology to be taken into consideration. He says: "If the people of the forest (wild tribes) multiply in any state the trouble to the king would not be small. The king should make such people his own by destroying their fears. Because they are people of very little advancement, faith and want of faith, anger and friendship, bitter enmity and close friendship, result from insignificant causes.... The wildest forest tribes can be brought

179. *Āmukta*, canto IV, V. 286.

under control by truthfulness (keeping one's engagements with them)".[180] In the Vijayanagar Empire there were many such wild tribes like the Kurumbars; and in dealing with them the kings must have largely followed the principles laid down by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in his *Āmuktamālyada*. Military stations or cantonments (*paḍaiparṟus*) were also established at important places to maintain order and peace in the Empire.

The military organisation of the Vijayanagar Kings was supplemented by an elaborate system of espionage. The practice of employing a secret service in the Empire can be traced to very early times in Indian history. In Vijayanagar these secret agents travelled everywhere and gathered information about the condition of the enemy states and carried news to the king. The *Āmuktamālyada* like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya says that kings should employ spies even in watching the actions of their ministers, lest they should get conceited and advise them to launch upon unnecessary undertakings.[181] That great value was attached to the information furnished by the spies is shown by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in the work: "Do not spurn an informer at the very outset; ponder over and over again what he says. If what he reported proves to be false then dispense with him, but see that he is in no way disgraced."[182] The spy was expected to reside in the capital, was to be conversant with languages, and acquainted with the spies of other countries. He was to have no special marks; and he was to get from the king more money than he expected. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya clearly states that "others should not enter the profession."[183]

The employment of spies in the wars of the period is testified to by many works. The *Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu* states that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya sent his spies to the kingdoms of his northern neighbours to get information about their movements, and they returned with valuable news about their activities.[184] According to the *Rāyavācakamu* the spies sent by Krsnadēva Rāya brought news about the strength of the enemies and the atrocities committed in Krsna's territory by them.[185] In describing the march of the Hindu army

180. *Ibid.*, vv. 222 and 225.
181. Canto, IV, v. 265.
182. *Ibid.*, v. 220.
183. *Ibid.*, v. 279.
184. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 130.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

Nuniz speaks of a few spies who were like scouts and had to spy out the country before the army and move at a distance of three or four leagues in front.[186]

It was customary in ancient and medieval India to announce the declaration of war to the neighbouring neutral states. The Vijayanagar rulers also followed this practice. This is known from Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's war policy. According to Nuniz, he gave an account to the Sultans of the north as to what had taken place between himself and the Sultan of Bijāpūr and how he had determined to make war on him, to which he received replies from them approving of his conduct, and promising him help as far as they could.[187] Nuniz himself examines the reason why Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya did so, and says: "The king had sent the letters out of his craftiness for he told them of what he was about to do in order to seduce them to his side—so far at least as concerned their good will, seeing that in the matter of troops he had no need of them because if they had joined the Ydallcão he (the king) would never have conquered as he did."[188]

Diplomatic agents were sent to foreign courts whenever necessity arose. They were appointed to carry on "particular business of a special nature" in the foreign courts. The system of accrediting ambassadors permanently from one court to another is of modern origin, and was unknown in medieval India.[189] The office of ambassador though temporary had grave responsibilities. The declaration and announcement of war and the conclusion of peace were all in the hands of these diplomatic agents.

The ambassadors were shown great respect wherever they went for they were the accredited representatives of their respective kings. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya truly says that "the friendship of an enemy king could be brought about by honouring and rewarding his ambassador."[190] Disrespect shown to him would lead to war. If Ferishta may be believed, when Muhammad Shāh sent an ambassador to the court of Bukka I "with a draft on the treasury of Vijayanagar," he was placed on an ass's back paraded through all

186. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
187. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-26.
188. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-26.
189. *Cf.* S. V. Viswanatha, *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 64.
190. *Āmukta*, canto IV, v. 225.

the quarters of the city and sent back with every mark of contempt and derision. This led to war.[191] But Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya generally followed his precept. He gave many gifts even to the messengers who brought the letters from the Sultan of Birar, Bidar and Golkonda in which they had threatened to join the 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr to help him in recovering his lost territories unless Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya of his own accord restored them to him.[192] According to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya a frank talk was necessary with an ambassador: "A king should freely converse in his court with the ambassadors of kings of neighbouring states and speak to them about administration and wars so that his followers may understand his point."[193]

The envoy was always a much respected person. The importance of that person rose with the importance of his mission. The Bijāpūr envoy, for instance, who had a very important message to deliver to the king of Vijayanagar "had with him all his people with their trumpets and drums as was customary."[194] The envoy was also given some presents by the Hindu kings. When 'Abdur Razzāk visited the court of Dēva Rāya II he was given several bags of *fanams* and betel reserved for the king's use.[195]

The kings of Vijayanagar maintained friendly relations with foreign powers, and sent embassies to their courts. Their object was either to make acquaintance with them or to renew and strengthen old friendships. In 1374 Bukka I sent a friendly embassy through his 'chief explainer' (Kiang Chu) to the court of Taitsu, the Ming emperor of China, with tributes and large presents among which was a stone which had the property of neutralising poison.[196] The purpose of the embassy is, however, not known. It is difficult to identify even the name of the envoy. 'Abdur Razzāk', the Persian ambassador visited the Vijayanagar court in 1443. The treatment he received there clearly shows that those who had no letter of credence from their emperors were not shown great respect, though in his particular case he received great attention from the Emperor,

191. Scott, *Ferishta*, I, p. 23; Sewell, *op.cit.*, pp. 32-33.
192. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
193. *Āmukta*, Canto, IV, v. 259.
194. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
195. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 120; for the presents of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the Bijāpūr envoy see Sewell, *op·cit.*, p. 352.
196. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 211; *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 140.

for he himself had requested him to come to his court from that of the Sumeri of Calicut, to which court alone the ambassador had letters of credence. Hence a report that he was not the accredited ambassador of the Persian Emperor was spread in Dēva Rāya's court.[197] Dēva Rāya II sent an embassy to Shāh Rūkh, the emperor of Persia, with presents and stuffs including a letter in which he said: "It was our intention to commend myself to His Sacred Majesty by royal presents and gifts, but certain parties represented that 'Abdur Razzāk' was not His Majesty's servant."[198] There is literary evidence of an embassy from Malaya to Vijayanagar in the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[198a]

The kings of Vijayanagar sent embassies to the court of the Portuguese Viceroys at Goa, with a view to securing the friendship of the Portuguese. To them their friendship was valuable for two reasons. One was they could secure the monopoly of the trade in horses, and the other was they could get their assistance in the wars with the Muslims. In 1511 Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya sent his ambassador to the Portuguese court "in order to establish a perpetual friendship with the king of Portugal." This was answered by a counter embassy from the king of Portugal who was also anxious to secure the friendship of Vijayanagar.[199] In 1601 Veṅkaṭa II sent his ambassadors to the court of Ayres de Saladana, the new Portuguese Viceroy. The reason for this embassy was the king's "desire to be the brother-in-arms (ally) of the king of Portugal," probably to strengthen his position against the possible designs of Akbar who entertained the idea of conquering South India.[200] It was again the same anxiety of the king to secure the friendship of the British that prompted him to send an embassy to the English traders at Masulipatam with a letter written upon a leaf of gold in which he wished to be excused for his former faults, and allowed them to build a house at Pulicat.[201]

197. See Elliot, *op.cit.*, IV, pp. 112-13, 120 and 122.

198. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

198a. See *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde Van Netherlandesh India*, VII, 2 (1904) 311-'16 referred to in K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, p. 136.

199. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 384, quoted in Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 58.

200. Letter of Fr. Francesco Ricio to Fr. Claudio Aquaviva, dated Candragiri, October 20th, 1601. See Heras, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 582-83 and 435.

201. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, III, Floris, pp. 336-37.

Chapter VI

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Section I

The Extent of the Empire

Vijayanagar, the last of the great Hindu empires of South India, was larger than the others which had preceded it, with the exception of the Cōḷa Empire from the days of Rāja Rāja I to Kulōttunga III. In the days of Dēva Rāya II the Empire reached almost its zenith. It held sway over the whole of South India except the southern portions of the west coast and the extreme north-eastern parts of the old Madras presidency. About the extent of the Empire under him 'Abdur Razzāk says that it "extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulburga and from Bengal to Malibār, a space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*."[1]

In the north-west the Empire had reached the limits of Goa even by A.D. 1391. A copy of a copper plate grant found in the archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon records the execution of a grant by the chief of Goa in A.D. 1391 in the name of "Vīrahariar" king of Vijayanagar, the suzerain.[2] A record in the Honnali taluk mentions one Vīra Vasanta Mādhavarāya as the *Govāpura varādhīśvara* (lord of the good city of Goa).[3] Thus even by 1391 Goa had been brought under the Vijayanagar sway. Kumāra Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka I, extended the frontiers of the Vijayanagar Empire in the south. He defeated the Śambuvarāya, the ruler of the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom, exterminated the Sultanate of Madura farther south, and added them to the Vijayanagar Empire. In 1385 Virūpākṣa, the son of Harihara II, conquered the island of Ceylon and thus the Empire covered the whole of South India by then.[4] After the conquest of these portions of South India,

1. Elliot, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 105.
2. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 45, *fn.* 2. It was copied in A.D. 1532 and translated into Portuguese.
3. In Shimoga District, (*E.C. VII*, Hn. 71).
4. See *EI.*, III, pp. 224-230; H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 84-85.

Madura was made the headquarters of a separate governorship; and the governor of this part of the Empire came to be called 'Lord of the Southern Ocean'. The first governor who appeared with that designation was Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka who was the Prime Minister of Dēva Rāya II.[5] An Inscription at Nagar[6] credits Dēva Rāya with having levied tribute from Ceylon (*Iḷam tiṟai koṇḍa*). Nuniz definitely states that Dēva Rāya II levied tribute not only from Ceylon but also from Coullão (Quilon), Puleacate (Pulicat), Pegu (Pegu) and Tenaçary (Tennasserim).[7] But the fortunes of the Empire ebbed and flowed. When there were weak kings at the centre, foreign rulers like the Gajapatis and the Bahmani Sultans made incursions into the Vijayanagar Empire and took possession of big slices of it. There were internal rebellions also. Hence Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya applied himself to the task of reconquering many of the lost territories. The Ummattūr chieftain who revolted was brought under his sway. The Gajapati was defeated, and by the treaty concluded subsequently with him the R. Kṛṣṇā was made the boundary between Vijayanagar Empire and the Gajapati kingdom. Raicūr, for long the bone of contention between the Hindu kings of the south and the Bahmani Sultans of the north, was taken. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya led an expedition even to distant Ceylon.[8] The Empire thus reached its farthest limit under him.

About the extent of the Empire under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Paes says: "This kingdom of Narsymga has three hundred *graos* of coast each *grao* being a league, along the hill range (*serra*).... until you arrive at Ballagate and Charamāodel (i.e. Cōḷamaṇḍala) which belong to this kingdom; and inbreadth it is one hundred and sixty-four *graos;* each large *grao* measures two of our leagues, so that it has six hundred leagues of coast, and across it three hundred and forty eight leagues.... across from Batacalla (Bhatkal) to the kingdom of Orya (Orissa)."

"And this kingdom marches with all the territory of Bengal, and on the other side with the kingdom of Orya, which is to the

5. 141 of 1903; 566 and 567 of 1904; *Rep.*, 1905, para 31.
6. In Chingleput District (144 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 60).
7. Sewell, *op.cit.*, para 302.
8. 146 of 1903; *Rep.*, 1904, para 23.

east, and on the other side to the north, with the kingdom of Dakhan, belonging to which are the lands which the Ydallcão (Ādil Shāh) has and Ozemelluco" (Nizām Mulk).[9]

Under Acyuta Rāya too the Empier was on the whole intact. The rebellion of Tumbicci Nāyaka of the Tiruvaḍi kingdom was put down. An inscription states that Acyuta took Ceylon.[10] But in the north he seems to have lost a small portion of his Empire. During the reign of Sadāśiva, the extent of the Vijayanagar Empire was greater than before though the centre's hold over the provinces was becoming weak.[11] Rāma Rāja exacted tribute at least from the Sultans of Bijāpūr and Golkonda. Even after the battle of Rakṣas Taṅgḍi the Empire did not dwindle in extent, though it suffered a set back.

Thus in the heyday of its glory the Vijayanagar Empire comprised all India south of the R. Kṛṣṇā. But in extreme south-west there were some small kingdoms which were independent of Vijayanagar. Barbosa says that on account of the high mountains which separated Malabar from the main territory, the Vijayanagar kings could not conquer them.[12] Thus Calicut was independent of Vijayanagar, and in 1510 after the repulse of Albuquerque by the Zamorin, Kṛṣnadēva Rāya was induced to attack the place for the Portuguese and the Zamorin were not very friendly.[13] 'Abdur Razzāk too states that the 'Sumeri' of Calicut was not a subordinate of Vijayanagar, but paid it respect and dreaded it because of its power.[14] The inclusion of Calicut by Nuniz as a tributary of Vijayanagar "cannot be considered as proving anything except ordinary diplomatic relations."[15]

9. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 239.

10. 40 of 1897; see *M.E.R.*, 1900, *Rep.*, para 70.

11. It is worth noting here that an inscription of the time of Sadāśiva dēva Mahārāya states that the Kuntaladēśa over which he ruled was one hundred and twenty-six thousand *yōjanas* in extent (*E.C.*, VII, Ci. 62).

12. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 198-99.

13. *Commentaries*, VI, p. 103.

14. Elliot *op.cit.*, IV, p. 103.

15. Sewell, *op.cit.*, pp. 122 and 374; See *Barbosa*, I, p. 199, *fn.*

SECTION II

The Divisions of the Empire

For the purpose of efficient administration the Vijayanagar kings divided the Empire into many provinces which were generally known as *rājyas* and sometimes vaguely as *maṇḍalas*. Even so early as in the days of Harihara I and Bukka, some divisions of the Empire are mentioned in inscriptions. In the eastern part of the Empire was the Udayagiri rājya which included the present Nellore and Cuddapah Districts.[15a] A little to its west was the Penugoṇḍa rājya.[16] To the south of it was the Candragiri rājya.[17] Adjoining it was the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom which comprised portions of the modern North Arcot and Chingleput Districts.[18] The Tiruvaḍi rājya which included portions of the South Arcot, North Arcot and Salem Districts lay to the south of the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom.[19] Another division was the Muḷuvāyi rājya which took its name from Mulbagal, its head-quarters and was during the Vijayanagar period generally the Viceregal seat of the government of the eldest son of the reigning king. It included portions of the modern districts of Kolar, Salem, North Arcot and Chittore.[20] Parts of the modern Shimoga and a part of the South Canara districts constituted what was called Sāntalige 1,000.[21] A little to the north of it was the province of Āraga with its capital Candraguṭṭi or Guṭṭi and comprised a good portion of the modern districts of Shimoga and North Canara. The Tuḷuva country formed another province of the Vijayanagar Empire, and had for its capital Mangalore.[22] Though these were the main divisions of the Empire in the latter half of the fourteenth century, it is likely a few more were added to them with the rapid expansion and consolidation of the Empire.

In their turn the provinces were divided into what we may call districts, taluks and villages. It is from the inscriptions that we learn of such divisions; but they refer to different divisions for different purposes and since many of them are referred to in one

15a. *E.I.*, III, p. 24.
16. *E.C.*, X, Bg. 10.
17. *Ibid.*, Bg. 70.
18. 255 of 1909; *M.A.R.*, 1919, para 93; Cp. 7 of 1914-15.
19. 118 of 1897; 426 of 1909.
20. *E.C.*, X, *Intro.*, p. xxxiv; 196 of 1910; 324 of 1912.
21. *Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 154.
22. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 237, *fn.* 7.

and the same inscription without any order or sequence; it is difficult to see which kind of division is signified by a particular name. The divisions that are thus referred to are *vaḷanāḍu, kōṭṭam, paṭṭaka, viṣaya, nirvṛtti, veṇṭhe, nāḍu, śīme, kharvaṭam, sthalam, parṟu, aimbadinmēlagaram, cāvaḍi,* and so on. An inscription mentions that a village called Kuṉṟattūr, was in Perumbākkaśīrmai in Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟapparṟu in Mugandūrnāḍu, a subdivision of Āmūr kōṭṭam, a district of Paḍaivīḍu rājya in Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḷamaṇḍalam,[23] while another mentions a few villages in the Muḍiyaṉūr parṟu in the Vaḷudilambaṭṭuccāvaḍi, a subdivision of Koṟukkai kūṟṟam, a district of Meykuṉṟavaḷanāḍu in Magadaimaṇḍalam. The beginning of the inscription states that it was on the southern bank of the river Peṇṇār in the Tiruvaḍi rājya in Magadaimaṇḍalam.[24] According to an inscription at Upparapaḷḷi in the Cuddapah District, the Cennūri śīme and the Poṭḷadurti śīme are said to have been included in Mulikanāḍu, a subdivision of Gandikōṭa śīme, which formed part of the Udayagiri rājya.[25] Here one finds mention of a śīme within a śīme. An inscription in the Sidlaghaṭṭa taluk of the Kōlār District states that the village of Kamanahaḷḷi in the Aramaṇa sthala was situated in the Kōḷāla śīme which was attached to the Bēlūr cāvaḍi.[26] On the other hand the Kōḍambaḷḷi śīme is said to have belonged to Canapaṭṭa in the Poyśaṉa nāḍ.[27]

That these divisions are not mentioned in any order necessitates clarification of the question what each of them indicated. Among such divisions the *maṇḍalam* may be examined first. A few of the *maṇḍalams* are the Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam, Nigariḷiśōḷammaṇḍalam, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Magadaimaṇḍalam and Cōḷamaṇḍalam. Originally important political divisions under the Cōḷas, they continued to be so called in later times though they no longer constituted any accepted political division. From the point of view of size, the *maṇḍalam* was bigger than a *rājya,* the regular largest administrative division in the Vijayanagar Empire. Though there are inscriptions which mention governors over the *rājyas,* there is none which specifically mentions a ruler or governor who was in charge of a *maṇḍalam.* Reference to a particular district or place as situated in a particular *maṇḍalam* was too con-

23. 255 of 1909.
24. 66 of 1906.
25. 326 of 1905.
26. *E.C.*, X, Sd. 15.
27. *Ibid.*, IX, Cn. 52.

ventional and old to have had any political significance in the Vijayanagar days; and in this connection it may be remarked that even in the modern day in South India, these *maṇḍalams* are mentioned though they have absolutely no connection with the administrative divisions of the day.

Next to the *maṇḍalam* was the *rājya*, which was the biggest political division in the Vijayanagar Empire. The division of the Empire into *rājyas* depended more on historical accidents and local needs than on any deliberate and scientific principle followed by the government. The Paḍaivīḍu *rājya* which was taken from the Śambuvarāya chief was retained as a province by the Vijayanagar Emperors. After the conquest of the Madura Sultanate, Madura was made the headquarters of a new governorship. The Tiruvadi rājya which had grown out of the ashes of the Cōḷa Empire was made a province. Such divisions which were formed on the basis of historical accidents could not have been of equal size. When the *rājya* was large or was of special importance owing to some reason or other, it was perhaps called a *mahārājya*. Candragiri, Paḍaivīḍu and Āraga were *mahārājyas*.[28] The *mahārājya* and *rājya* can be compared to the major and minor provinces into which British India was divided. In the Kannaḍa districts a division called the *pīṭhika* (throne) appears to have existed. If a surmise is possible we can say the *rājya* was also known by that name.[29] The number of *rājyas* within the Empire seems to have varied from time to time. Some of them should have been created as the exigencies of the administration required. Similarly some of them were reduced in importance. Thus, for instance, Guṭṭi, which was a *rājya* in the early years of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's reign,[30] is mentioned as a subdivision of Penugoṇḍa rājya in A.D. 1529.[31]

In the Tamil districts the *rājya* was in its turn divided into districts called *kōṭṭams*, also known at times as *kūṟṟams*. But in certain parts of the Empire above the *kūṟṟam* was a division called *vaḷanāḍu*.[32] The *kōṭṭam* was divided into *nāḍus* which can be com-

28. *E.I.*, III, p. 119; *ibid.*, XIV, p. 313; *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 206.
29. *E.C.*, X, Sd. 94.
30. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 802; *E.C.* XII, Mi. 64.
31. 332 of 1926.
32. Saletore doubts if the term *vaḷanāḍu* was used outside the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (*Soc. and Pol. Life*, I, p. 295, *fn.* 7). But that it was in vogue also in some other parts of the Empire is indicated by a few inscriptions. One of them states that it was a division in the Magadaimaṇḍalam (66 of

pared to the modern taluks. Rural parts in such *nāḍus* seem to have been called *parṟus*. But the exact connotation of the term is not clear, for it seems to have been used in different senses.[33] Thus according to one inscription there was one division called the *paṟṟu*, below a *nāḍu*, the division of a *kōṭṭam*, while according to another the *paṟṟu* was a division bigger than a *nāḍu* and smaller than a *kōṭṭam*. This inconsistency in the order of these divisions makes one doubt if by the term *paṟṟu* any political division was meant. *Paṟṟu* may simply mean a rural area or a portion of a particular area which might have been made up of many villages.

The *nāḍus* were divided into *aimbadin mēlagarams* or units of fifty villages. Every such unit had a chief village; for example Vēlanguḍi was the chief place in a division of fifty villages.[34] Below this came the *agarams* or *maṅgalams* or *ūrs* which constituted smaller administrative units. To each of these units were attached a few villages which were called *piḍāgai* in the Tamil districts.

A large number of villages in the Tamil districts are mentioned by the name *taṉiyūr*. Kāvērippāḳkam, otherwise known as Vikramaśōḻacaturvēdimaṅgalam, in the present North Arcot district, was a *taṉiyūr* in the Paḍuvūr kōṭṭam.[35] Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot District was a *taṉiyūr* in the Vāvalūr nāḍu,[36] while Uttaramērūr *alias* Rājēndraśōḻacaturvēdimaṅgalam was a *taṉiyur* in the

1906; 740 of 1909), and another mentions the Rājēndraśōḻavaḷanāḍu in the Nigariliśōḻamaṇḍalam (*E.C.*, IX, Bg. 59). Saletore also thinks that the *vaḷanāḍu* was a smaller division than a *kōṭṭam*. Though there are a few inscriptionns which mentions that a *valanāḍu* was a part of a *kōṭṭam* (*E.I.*, III, p. 119), yet there are still others which mention the *koṭṭam* as a division of a *vaḷanāḍu* (see 740 of 1909; 66 of 1906). To add to the difficulty an inscription says that a *kōṭṭam* and a *vaḷanāḍu* indicated the same division (319 of 1911). Hence it is difficult to decide its relation with the *kōṭṭam* from the point of view of size.

33. According to the inscription at Tirumalai, the village of Śambukulapperumāḷ Agraharam of Rājagambhīra caturvēdimaṅgalam was situated in Murumaṅgaḷaparṟu in Maṇḍaikuḷanāḍu in Palakuṉṟakōṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻamaṇḍalam, (87 of 1887, see also 740 of 1909) while according to another inscription a particlar caturvēdimaṅgalam is said to have been situated in a *nāḍu* which was in a *paṟṟu* or district that formed a division of a *kōṭṭam* in the same Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻamaṇḍalam (319 of 1911).

34. *S.I.I.*, II, No, 23,

35. 386 of 1905.

36. 68 of 1922.

Kaliyūr kōṭṭam of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The exact meaning of the term is hard to find. It seems to have been an independent administrative unit for political purposes, and its status must have been at least equal to that of any large subdivision in the Empire. That such could have been the position of the *taṉiyūr* in those days is not difficult to visualise when one sees, for instance, in the modern day that a city like Madras has got an independent status at least equal to that of a district on account of its population and importance. The *taṉiyūr* may have had a local treasury and may be compared to a modern *kaspā*.

Turning to the Karnāṭaka area one gets reference to a large number of subdivisions. There are new names denoting new divisions. As in the Tamil area there were *rājyas* in the Karnāṭaka also. Sometimes they were called *pīṭhikas* or thrones. According to an inscription in the Sidlaghaṭṭa Taluk of the Kōlār District there was one Śaḍali pīṭhika which included the Mukkuṇḍa veṇṭhe.[37]

The next important division was the *veṇṭhe* variously known as *viṣaya* and *nirvṛtti*.[38] It seems to have taken the place of the *kōṭṭam* of the Tamil inscriptions. These districts were divided into *śīmes*. For instance, Tekkallapāḍu is said to have been in the Addaṅka-śīme of the Kamma viṣaya.[39]

Next to the *śīme* came the *sthala* which was made up of a few villages. A record of A.D. 1589 in the Hiriyūr[40] taluk mentions a a few *sthalas* and the number of villages each of them contained. Thus there does not seem to have been any definite rule regarding

37. *E.S.*, X, Sd. 94.

38. *Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 9; 186 of 1897; *E.I.*, XIII, p. 11; III, p. 229; *E.C.*, X, Bg. 70. Though we may doubt the accuracy of the historical details contained in the inscriptions it is possible that such terms as these were in use in those days. But according to the Madras Museum Plates of Śrīgiri Bhūpāla, a *nirvṛtti* was a larger division than a *kōṭṭam* (see *E.I.*, VIII, p. 315).

39. *E.I.*, XIII, p. 11.

40 In Chitaldrug District (*E.C.* XI, Hr. 88).

The following is the list given in it:

Hiriyūr	*sthala*	53	villages	Lakkihaḷḷi	*sthala*	7	villages
Begganāḍu	„	11	„	Basapaṭṭaṇa	„	14	„
Hośūr	„	21	„	Aralahaḷḷi	„	3	„
Gavuḍanahaḷḷi	„	10	„	Tavanidhihaḷḷi	„	12	„
Kurubarahaḷḷi	„	13	„	Bukkapaṭṭaṇa	„	26	„
				Ikkanūr	„	11	„

the number of villages that a *sthala* should comprise. Some inscriptions mention a *sthala* and a śīme of the same name. An inscription in the Dōd Ballapūr Taluk[41] mentions, for instance, the Tippūr śīme and the Tippūr sthala. Here it would appear that Tippūr not only lent its name to a bigger administrative division but also to a smaller one, as in the modern day, Chingleput not only constitutes a district but also a taluk, a smaller unit. It appears that the *sthala* came to be called later by he name *sammat* or *samuta*.[42] Under the Āravīḍu rulers there appears another division called the *hobali* which was made up of a few villages; and perhaps this was a division that took the place of the *sthala* and the *sammat*.[43]

In some parts of the Karnāṭaka districts a division called the *kampaṇa* took the place of the *sthala*. Where such division was made the province was divided into eighteen districts or *kampaṇas* as in the case of the Goa-Guṭṭi (Candragiri) kingdom.[44] The significance of the number eighteen is not, however, known.

The *sthalas* seem to have been subdivided into *nāḍukas* and *valitas*, or *vaṇitas* or *vantyas*. The Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates mention that Gaṅgavarapaṭṭi was included in the Hastināvati valita and was situated in the Neduṅguḷa nāḍuka in the Ālaṅguḷa sthala which belonged to the Dhārāpura vantya.[45] But this order is reversed in a few cases. According to an inscription Kurugōḍaśīme was a subdivision of the Muganāḍu veṇthe which was a part of Hastināvati valita.[46] The reason for this change of order is hard to find; and hence the difficulty in finding out the exact nature of the division.

We meet with a few other names of divisions in the Empire. The *māgaṇi* or the *puramāgaṇi* was one. We hear for instance, of

41. In Bangalore District *E.C.* IX, Db. 42.
42. *E.C.* III, Nj. 10; XI, Hr. 36.
43. *Ibid.*, X, Mr. 57.
44. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 282; VIII, Sb. 51. Regarding the *kampaṇa* Fleet says: "*Kampaṇa* is a convertible term with *'bāḍa'* in its second meaning of a circle of towns constituting an administrative post.....*'bāḍa'* is a *tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskrit *'vāṭa'*, an enclosure of a town or village, fence, wall, hedge, etc.....*Kampaṇa* is probably another form of the Canarese *Kampala, Kampilu*, a cluster, heap, assemblage, multitude, etc." (*Ind. Ant.* IV, p. 211 *fn.* and p. 329 *fn.*).
45. *E.I.*, XII, p. 187.
46. 212 of 1913; see Cp. 1 of 1914-15 for another reference to *valita*.

the Śāntalige māgaṇi in the Āraga kingdom.[47] But it appears to be a general term and carries no special significance with it; the estate given to an *amara nāyaka* could have been called by the name of *amara māgani*. Another division seems to have been known as *mārjavāḍa*. An inscription at Rayacōṭa in the Cuddapah District mentions the *mārjavāḍas* of Penugoṇḍa and Udayagiri.[48] *Mārjavāḍa* is an abridged form of *mahārājavāḍi*, a district comprising the whole of the present Rāyalaśima. The name of the district survived. In Vijayanagar times, the territory included in the old *mahārājavāḍi* fell under two *rājyas*, Penugoṇḍa and Udayagiri; hence they are occasionally referred to as Penugoṇḍa mārjavāḍi and Udayagiri mārjavāḍi. The term *kharvaṭa* indicated another division. Lüders thinks that it was the name of a market town.[49]

In some places military and police considerations influenced the administrative divisions in the Empire. A strong fort, for instance, was made the nucleus of a division. It had some territory attached to it, was presided over by a *durgadaṇḍanāyaka* and the territory under him constituted a division for political purposes. In the Bangalore Taluk, for instance, we have reference to the kingdom of the Kaṇḍanūr durga.[50] Then again we hear of the Udayagiri durgam to which a few villages were attached.[51] These were perhaps analogous to the *paḍaipparṟuṣ* or cantonments mentioned earlier.

The term *cāvaḍi*, literally meaning a 'hall' or an office occurs in the inscriptions. A number of villages were attached to the *cāvaḍi* and at times even *sthalas* and *sīmes* were attached to it. For example, the Timmasamudra village was attached to Teppada Nāgaṇṇa's *cāvaḍi*.[52] Tiruśivamattūr *sthala* belonged to the Kōlāla *cāvaḍi*.[53] An inscription dated A.D. 1428-9 mentions Sunepuhanalūr in the Mēlmuri of Malanāḍu as a subdivision of the Rājarājaśōḷanāḍu which belonged to the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi rājya or cāvaḍi.[54]

47. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl, 206.
48. 444 of 1911.
49. *E.I.*, VI, p. 232, *fn.* 9.
50. *E.C.*, IX, Cn. 150.
51. 205 of 1892.
52. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 252.
53. *Ibid.*, IX, Ht. 121.
54. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 111. For a few other references for the *cāvaḍi*, see *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 350.

Continued on next page.

Section III

Provincial Organisation

1. *Provincial Governors*: The part of the Empire directly under the imperial sway was divided into provinces and over each was appointed a viceroy. Members of the royal family were generally appointed governors of provinces. During the time of Harihara I, Mārappa was the governor of the province of Āraga with its capital at Candraguṭṭi.[55] Kampaṇa I was the ruler of the Udayagiri rājya.[56] Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka, was governing the Muḷuvāgil kingdom (Mulbāgal).[57] Virūpākṣa, the son of Harihara II, was in charge of the Tuṇḍīra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries and he even conquered Ceylon.[58] His brother Dēva Rāya was the governor of Udayagiri before he ascended the throne.[59] He was succeeded by his son Rāmacandra Oḍeya who is said to have subjugated hostile kings and by his skill vanquished the Muslims.[60] Vīra Vijaya Rāya another son of Dēva Rāya, was ruling the Muḷuvāgil kingdom,[61] and when he became the Emperor, was succeeded by his son Śrīgiri in the viceroyalty.[62] This practice of appointing princes of the royal house as viceroys of provinces was followed even by the Āravīḍu kings. Tirumala appointed his son Śrī Raṅga II viceroy of the home province, Penukoṇḍa. Formerly he had served as the Viceroy of the Udayagiri rājya wherefrom he con-

Continued from previous page.

In the inscriptions from the Mysore State, we find mention of a few territorial divisions as the

Gaṅgavāḍi	..	96,000
Banavāsi	..	12,000
Kalaśa	..	3,000 or 1,000
Sāntalige	..	1,000

and some others.

It is difficult to find out the meaning or significance of these numerical su;xes. There were no administrative sub-divisions of this type during the Vijayanagar times. They were survivals of earlier arrangements. Their mention in the Vijayanagar inscriptions must be attributed to the conservatism of the people for old ideas and associations die hard.

55. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
56. *Nel. Ins.*, II, Nl. 28.
57. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 162 and 222.
58. *E.I.*, III, pp. 227 228.
59. *Nel. Ins.*, II, Kn. 23.
60. *Ibid.*, Cp. 1.
61. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 175.
62. *Ibid.*, X, Bp. 15.

quered Koṇḍavīḍu, Vinikoṇḍapura and other forts.[63] Rāma, another son of Emperor Tirumala, was the Viceroy of the Srīraṅgapaṭṇa country.[64] Veṅkaṭa II, the fourth son of Tirumala, was governing the Tamil country with his headquarters at Candragiri with many feudatories under him.[65] The practice of the Sāḷuvas and the Tuḷuvas appears, however, to have been different. They did not appoint royal princes as governors of provinces, for which two explanations are possible. The members of the royal family at a particular time were not many. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha had only two sons while Narasā Nāyaka had four. Even among them there was great rivalry and palace intrigue, and hence the Emperor did not trust the other members of the royal family with the governorships. The princes of the first Vijayanagar Dynasty who were sent out as rulers of provinces assumed the title of *Ōḍeya* or *Uḍaiyār* (in Tamil).

Where it was thought desirable that some eminent officer with wide administrative experience could fill the post with credit and to the advantage of the central government, such an officer was appointed as governor of the province. The governors thus appointed were generally known as the *Daṇḍanāyakas*. In their constitutional status as also in their relations with the imperial house, their position appears to have been similar to that of the princes who served as provincial governors.

The governors of the provinces in the Empire enjoyed some sort of local autonomy within their jurisdiction. They held their own courts, had their own officers, maintained their own armies and ruled their territories without interference from the central authority so long as they regularly discharged their obligations to the imperial house. These provincial governors, if they were members of the royal family, assumed the imperial titles belonging to their respective dynasties. In a few cases succession was hereditary in their families. Kampaṇa I, the brother of Harihara I, who was the lord of the Udayagiri rājya, was on his death succeeded to the governor's office by his son Saṅgama II, and in his capacity as the governor of the province, he made the Bitraguṇṭa grant.[66] These governors, whether they were princes of the royal blood

63. *E.I.*, XII, pp. 173 and 186, Daḷavāy Agrahāram Plates, vv. 23 to 26.
64. 43 of 1915; *E.C.*, Yl. 16; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 221.
65. S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*, p. 302.
66. *E.I.*, III, p. 21.

or imperial officers who were assigned provinces for governing, were transferred from one province to another as exigencies of of administration demanded. Virūpaṇṇa or Virūpākṣa I, a son of Bukka, was the governor of the Āraga province. There are a few inscriptions of his belonging to the years 1362, 1367 and 1379.[67] In one inscription he is called Uddagiri Virūpaṇṇa or Udayagiri Virūpaṇṇa which indicates that he was formerly the governor of the Udayagiri rājya.[68] Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, for instance, was the governor of the Mulbāgal and Tēkal provinces in 1430.[69] He continued there for two years[70] after which he was transferred to the southern province over which he ruled till about 1440 with the title, 'Lord of the Southern Ocean'. In A.D. 1438 he is seen making a grant from the Tiruppattūr taluk of the Ramnād District.[71] In 1440 he is found in the Bārakūru rājya which shows that he was transferred to that province about that time.[72] Later he seems to have been transferred again to the Madura province over which he ruled with the title, 'Lord of the Southern Ocean'.[73] However, there does not seem to have been any time limit for a governorship, for it depended not only upon the ability of the governor but also on the local necessities. Uddagiri Virūpaṇṇa, for instance, was governor of the Āraga province for nearly eighteen years,[74] while Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka served as governor in different provinces for shorter terms.

Generally the governors appear to have been appointed by the king in consultation with his ministers. Thus when Mādhavamantrin, the governor of the Banavāse province, died in 1391, Harihara II deliberated with his ministers as to who could be sent there to succeed the deceased governor, and finally decided that one Naraharimantrin, a disciple of Vidyāśaṅkara, must be sent as the governor of the province.[75]

The order, conveying these appointments bore the royal seal. A Kannaḍa inscription of Mallikārjuna Mahārāya of A.D. 1465-66

67. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 20. Ng. 34 and Tl. 114.
68. *Ibid.*, Tl. 37.
69. *Ibid.*, X, Bp. 72.
70. *Ibid.*, Mr. 3 and 1.
71. 141 of 1903.
72. 128 of 1901.
73. 100 of 1911.
74. *E.C.*, VIII, *Introl*, p. xii.
75. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 115.

refers to one Rāmacandra Daṇṇāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāna* of the king, as administering the kingdom under the royal seal.[76] The governors had their own Councils which were probably modelled on that of the Emperor. From the inscriptions of the period it may be surmised that these Councils consisted of the *Pradhāni*,[77] the *Ōlai* (Secretary),[78] the *Daḷvāy* or the *Daṇḍanāyaka* as he was called in a few inscriptions,[79] the Treasurer,[80] the *Sāmantādhikāri*,[81] and a few others. In all probability these ministers were chosen and appointed by the respective governors themselves, with the approval of the imperial authority. A few of these ministers rose to be very able administrators. Mādhavamantrin, the minister of Mārappa, was very efficient, and was to his master what Bhārgava was to Śaṅkara, and he was 'a pilot' to his lord 'floating in the ocean of the kingdom'.[82] Similarly Sōmappa Daṇḍanāyaka and Gopaṇṇa Uḍaiyār were two outstanding personalities that helped Kumāra Kampaṇa in his arduous task of bringing South India up to Madura under Vijayanagar rule.

The provincial governors appear to have enjoyed the right to issue their own coins independently of the central government. Caesar Frederick was very much struck by this system, and he remarks: "When we came into a new governor's territory as every day we did, although they were all tributarie to the king of Bizeneger, yet everyone of them stamped a small coyne of copper, so that the money we took this day would not serve the next day".[83] Inscriptional evidence corroborates this statement of the foreign observer. A few *gadyānas* were issued from the provincial seats of Bārakūr and Maṅgaḷūr; and Krishna Sastri concluded from this that the provincial governors were empowered to issue coins in their own names.[84] Similarly we have evidence of Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the governor under Dēva Rāya II, issuing coins in his own name. A copper coin of his has an elephant on the reverse and a letter 'L' above it, and the obverse bears the legend *maṇa*,

76. 376 of 1927-28.
77. 309 of 1912.
78. *I.P.S.*, 707.
79. *Ibid.*
80. 309 of 1912.
81. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 58.
82. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sh. 375.
83. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.
84. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, pp. 237-38.

daṇāya, karu which probably stands for the name of Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka.[85] The provincial governors themselves seem to have had the power to grant to private individuals the right of issuing coins and owning private mints (*ṭaṅka*).[86] The governor enjoyed the right to impose new taxes or remit old ones. Since they were generally held responsible only for a fixed contribution of money to the imperial house they were not usually interfered with in the minuter details of the incidence of taxation and the manner of collection of the taxes. Thus Cikka Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār gave a charter to the officials and Kaikkōḷas of Haṭṭalakōṭe making certain regulations with regard to the payment of taxes and remitting the fines imposed on the Kaikkōḷas.[87] But it appears that the provincial ministers could not make grants or remit or impose taxes except with the permission of the governor of the province. Thus Viṭṭappar, an officer under Vīra Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār, made a gift of the village of Māḍambākkam to the local temple after getting the sanction of the governor.[88] But there are a few inscriptions which indicate that certain officers of government remitted the taxes without getting the necessary permission from the governor. Gōppaṇṇaṉgaḷ, an officer under Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār remitted the taxes on the lands of Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr *alias* Brahmīśvara which was a unit village.[89] The *Mahāpradhāni* Sōmappa Uḍaiyār and the treasurer Viṭṭappayyan, the two officers under the same Kampaṇa, issued an order to Meydēvar who was in charge of the taxes of Pulināḍ to assign certain duties imposed in kind on all the articles that passed through his district for the benefit of the Viṣṇu temple at Kumari.[90] But from the above two cases it would appear that these officers made the grants not by any inherent right they enjoyed by virtue of the office they held under the government, but they were themselves in charge of certain districts under the provincial government, the income from which were assigned to them by the provincial governor as remuneration for the offices they held under him. It was in the capacity of district chiefs that the ministers of the provincial governors remitted taxes or made

85. *M.E.R.*, 1905, para 31; see also Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, plate III, No. 92 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 304.
86. *M.A.R.*, 1929, para 9.
87. *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 97.
88. 324 of 1911.
89. 184 of 1918.
90. 309 of 1912.

gifts independently. Their grants, unless they were made with the permission of the governor, could not have applied to the whole province. The benefit of such grants was restricted to the district which they held under the provincial governor.

However, whenever the people were oppressed by the provincial governors, the imperial government interfered on behalf of the people. Before the time of Dēva Rāya II, for instance, the ministers had been taking presents by force from all ryots belonging to both the Right hand and Left hand classes at the commencement of each reign. In consequence of this all the ryots were harassed and hence they migrated to other places. Worship and festivities ceased in temples; the country was stricken with disease; the few people that remained either died or suffered. The king therefore interfered and prohibited such extortion.[91] Here it is said that the ministers oppressed the people. It may be taken that the term ministers means officers, for the ministers of the Imperial Council were generally provincial governors as well.

Nuniz says that the provincial governors had to pay the king their revenues as fixed by him annually during the first nine days of the month of September.[92] It has been suggested earlier that though remittances were made every month, assessment was made in September.[93]

The provincial governors were also made responsible for the maintenance of law and order within their jurisdiction; whenever the property of their subjects was stolen, they were bound to catch the thief and restore the stolen property to the owner. Otherwise they were severely punished by the king.[94]

The governors were entitled to certain honours. They were allowed to use litters and palanquins, as is indicated by the evidence of Nuniz and inscriptions.[95] The inscriptions of the period also refer to a few of the honours which they received from the king. A record in the Goribidnūr taluk of the Kōlār District says that the Vijayanagar Emperor (Mallikārjuna ?) conferred on some of his feudatories the following honours: horse, umbrella, *cāmara, bhūmi-*

91. *M.E.R.*, 1905, Pt. II, para 30.
92. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
93. See *ante*, p. 90.
94. Sewell, *op.* cit., p. 380.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

peṇḍe and three *howdah* elephants.[96] Similarly Nandēla Appa, the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, was given the right to use a palanquin and two *cauris*.[97]

A few of the governors of provinces were appointed to some important posts in the imperial service. Some of the ministers of the Emperor are said to have been governors of one province or another. For instance, Mādhavamantri, the minister of Bukka I (formerly the minister of Mārappa while he was the governor of the Kadamba country and Banavāse 12,000), "accepted the government (of the province) as far as the Western Ocean,"[98] by order of Vīra Bukka Bhūpati. From an inscription in the Tīrthahalli taluk of the Shimoga District which mentions that Mādhavamantri, the house-minister of Harihara II, was the governor of the western parts including Āraga in the Vijayanagar dominions, one is led to infer that he was ruling that province up to A.D. 1384, the date of the inscription.[99] Nāgaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the *Mahāpradhāna* of Dēva Rāya I, was the governor of the Muḷuvāgil kingdom.[100] Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the Prime Minister of Dēva Rāya II, served as a governor in various provinces. As said earlier, about 1430 he was the governor of the Mulbāgal and the Tēkal provinces.[101] Later he was the governor of the southern part of the empire and was known by the designation "Lord of the Southern Ocean".[102] Timmaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, the Mahāpradhāni of Mallikārjuna Rāya, was the governor of the Nāgamaṅgala division in the empire.[103] Sāḷuva Timma, the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, was made the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu after its capture.[104] Koṇḍamarasayya, the *Rāyasam* of the king, was the governor of Udayagiri.[105] Salvanayque of Nuniz known to inscriptions as Sāḷuva Vīra Narasimha Nāyaka or Sāḷuva Daṇḍanāyaka was for some

96. *E.C.*, X, Gd. 22; the inscription is of doubtful authenticity. Yet the fact that certain customary honours were shown to the provincial governors cannot be wrong.
97. 257 of 1892; *E.I.*, VI, p. 112.
98. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281.
99. *Ibid.*, Tl. 147.
100. *Ibid.*, X, Mb. 7.
101. *Ibid.*, Bp. 72.
102. 100 of 1911.
103. *E.C.*, III, Sm. 89.
104. *E.I.*, VI, p. 110.
105. *Nel. Ins.*, III, App. I, p. 1476.

time ruling over the Tiruvadi rājya and according to the chronicle of Nuniz he was the lord of Charamāodel, Negapatam, Tanjore, Bhuvanagiri, Dēvipaṭṇam, Tirukovil (Tirukkōyilūr) Kāyal and other territories bordering on Ceylon.[106] Thus instances can be multiplied to show that some of the imperial officers were also provincial governors; and they governed their provinces through their deputies, who were called *Kāryakartas*.[107]

Though one gets valuable details with regard to the contributions demanded of some of the provincial governors by Acyuta

106. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

107. Nuniz gives the following account of a few provincial governors, their income and their military and financial obligations to the imperial government: (Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-89).

Name of the Governor	Income in *Pardaos* of gold.	Military contribution	Financial contribution
Salvanayque, the Prime Minister of Acyuta Rāya	11,00000	30,000 foot 3,000 horse 30 elephants	1/3
Ajaparcatimapa, Lord of Udayagiri, etc.	800,000	25,000 foot 1,500 horse 40 elephants	3/8
Gapanayque, Lord of Rosyl	600,000	20,000 foot 2,500 horse 20 elephants	1/4
Lepanayque, Lord of Vingapor	300,000	20,000 foot 1,200 horse 28 elephants	4/15
Narvara, Lord of Ondegema	400,000	12,000 foot 600 horse 20 elephants	1/2
Cinapanayque, Lord of the land of Calay	300,000	10,000 foot 800 horse	1/3
Crisnapanayque, Lord of Aosel	30,000	700 foot 500 horse	7/20
Bajapanayque, Lord of Bodial	300,000	10,000 foot 800 horse 15 elephants	1/30
Mallapanayque, Lord of the country of Avaly, etc.	15,000	6,000 foot 400 horse	1/3
Adapanayque, Lord of the country of gate	300,000	8,000 foot 800 horse 10,000 foot	2/15
Bajapanayque, Lord of Mumdoguel	400,000	30 elephants 1,000 horse 50 elephants	3/8

Rāya, the exact principle on which these demands were made from them is not clear. An examination of the contributions demanded from the few governors mentioned shows that they differed widely. Adapanayque, who got an income of 300,000 *pardaos*, was expected to maintain for the imperial house a certain proportion of foot, horse and elephants and contribute 2/5 of his income, while Lepanayque who got the same income was not only required to maintain a larger proportion of foot, horse and an almost equal number of elephants but also contribute 4/15 of his income to the imperial treasury. However, one explanation is possible for such enormous disproportion. Since many of the governors of provinces held some office with the government, the demand made from them must be such as would leave for them a certain amount of money after meeting their obligations to the government which would be the remuneration for their services. Adapanayque, for instance, was the chief counsellor of the king, while Lepanayque held no such office under the government. In such a case the larger demand made by the state from the latter was quite legitimate, for even after paying the fixed contribution there was still left something for him towards his remuneration as governor. But Adapanayque was an officer at the imperial headquarters, and besides he was the governor of a province. If he had attended to his work at the capital, he could not have ruled his province himself but only through his deputy, in which case he must have paid him. Thus he had two functions to discharge. Though he was assigned a province the income from which he was to enjoy after making his contributions to the central government, yet since he had to govern it only through his deputy whom he had to pay, some concession had to be shown to him in the matter of his contribution to the imperial house. Thus there was bound to be some difference between the demand made by the government from a provincial governor who had no office at the capital and from one who held some office.

The governors, including those that held some office at the imperial headquarters, each maintained an agent at the capital. This officer is called by Nuniz 'Secretary'. He says that the 'Secretary' was always at the court and that he kept his master informed of what was taking place in the palace, for nothing took place there of which he did not soon know.[108]

108. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

A few words may be said here about the influence of certain families over the royal house. A few of the provincial governors who held some office or other with the imperial government often wielded great influence over the royal house which at times had certain serious consequences. Under weak rulers like Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha developed his ambition of usurping all royal authority and finally achieved his object by making himself the founder of the second line of the Vijayanagar Emperors. During the rule of his weak son Immaḍi Narasiṁha, Narasā Nāyaka rose to a position of eminence and power, and finally his son was able to see through a "bloodless revolution" at Vijayanagar. The influence and power of the Salaka brothers during the reign of Acyutadēva Rāya, were responsible for some of the palace intrigues at the Vijayanagar capital. The influence wielded by Rāma Rāja and his brothers at the court of Sadāśiva is too well known to need re-capitulation here in detail. The inefficient Sadāśiva was a poor prisoner in the hands of Rāma Rāja and was shown to the public only once in a year. During the period of his power, Rāma Rāja dominated the politics of Vijayanagar and made his Muslim neighbours on the north prostrate before him. However, it must be said that the governors could not trifle with strong kings. Sāḷuva Timma in spite of his ability and power was kept under great check by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. According to Nuniz, on the mere suspicion of his complicity in the murder of his son Tirumala, he was blinded and imprisoned and his family also was ruined. Thus under strong kings they were submissive; but under weak ones they rose to great power, influence and eminence.

2. *The Nāyaṅkara System*: Another important feature of the Vijayanagar provincial organisation was the *nāyaṅkara* system. According to this system the king was considered to be the owner of the soil and he distributed the lands to his dependents. In medieval India services to the ruler were rewarded by the grant of territories. Further, the king had to strengthen himself with a body of people to serve him in his wars, for which they were granted lands. Those who held lands from the king were called *nāyakas*, though the term was later used to denote a variety of offices and communities. They ruled over their territories with great freedom. In return for the territories granted to them they had two functions to discharge. First they had to pay a fixed annual financial contribution to the imperial exchequer which, according to the chronicle of Nuniz, was generally half their revenue. Second-

ly they were required to maintain for the king a sufficient number of troops and serve him in his wars. About Acyutadēva Rāya and his *nāyakas* Nuniz says: "This King Citarao has foot-soldiers paid by his nobles and they are obliged to maintain six *lakhs* of soldiers, that is six hundred thousand men, and twenty-four thousand horse, which the same nobles are obliged to have. These nobles are like renters who hold all the land from the king, and besides keeping all these people they have to pay their cost; they also pay him every year sixty *lakhs* of rents as royal dues. The lands they say yield a hundred and twenty *lakhs* of which they say they must pay sixty to the king, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain".[109] Paes also gives the same details. It was the king that fixed the number of troops and the amount of money each of these *nāyakas* was to keep, and they were generally in proportion to the revenue each derived.[110] They were the guardians of the peace within their jurisdiction, and were held responsible for the detection of crimes as well; they were bound to make good any loss in their respective territories.[111] On certain ceremonial occasions like the birth of a son or daughter to the king, or his annual birthday, these nobles offered him 'great presents of money and jewels of price.'[112] In addition to these they were expected to make great gifts of money to the king on the new year day. Paes says: "It is even said that they give on that day to the king in money a million and five hundred thousand gold *pardaos*."[113] According to Nuniz the nobles sent food to him every day to his house, namely, rice, wheat, meat and fowls with all other necessary things.[114]

Failure to conform to these obligations was liable to be punished. Nuniz says that the estates of these *nāyakas* would be confiscated and themselves severely punished if they did not maintain the full number of soldiers or pay tribute according to their obligations.[115] Barbosa also observes that when the king found any great lord or relation guilty of any crime, he sent for him immedi-

109. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 373.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 380.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 374 and 389.

ately and if he failed to give "a just excuse for his fault", he chastised him in words as thoroughly as he deserved and took from him half of his revenues. Then he was immediately ordered to be stripped and stretched on the ground and given a severe beating; and if he happened to be a near relative of the king, the king beat him with his own hand and after he had been punished he was ordered to be taken in his palanquin "very honourably with music and rejoicing to his own house."[116] But the administration of corporal punishment is not mentioned by any other writer. Hence it appears to be, as Dames remarks, an improbable story.[117]

Duarte Babosa while describing the Vijayanagar Empire says: "All these villages and hamlets are inhabited by Heathen, among whom dwell a few Moors. Many places here belong to the Lords who hold them from the King of Narsyngua, who in his own town keeps his governors and collectors of his rents and duties."[118] This statement shows that there were two types of provinces one held by the 'lords' from the king (on a feudal basis) and the other directly governed by the king through his governors or agents. The two types of provincial officers were the *nāyakas* and governors of our classification.

The constitutional position of the *nāyaka* appears to have been different from that of a governor of a province, though both of them had a few similar obligations to be fulfilled. (1) While the governor was the king's representative in a province and ruled it on behalf of the king, the *nāyaka* was only a military vassal. It was more to enable him to meet his financial and military obligations that he was assigned a district. (2) The *nāyaka* enjoyed comparatively greater freedom in his territory. Normally the king does not appear to have interfered with the internal administration of his district. It seems that the *nāyaka* was not usually subject to transfer from one district to another, though there was nothing to prevent his removal from a particular district assigned to him. But in such cases the reason for such removal was evidently his failure to fulfil his obligations or the desire of the king to provide for another of his favourites. But the transfer or removal of a governor appears to have been due to administrative necessities.

116. *Barbosa*, I, p. 209.

117. *Ibid.*, *fn*.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 200,

(3) The *nāyakas* had onerous responsibilities. The responsible work of the clearance of forests, introduction of agriculture, and the promotion of general progress were a few of the more important works entrusted to and done by the *nāyakas*. (4) The governors were generally called *Daṇḍanāyakas* and were invariably Brahmans. (5) The *nāyakship* which was in the initial stages personal became hereditary in course of time when the kings at the centre became weak and effeminate.

The *nāyakas* maintained two sets of officers at the imperial headquarters. One of them appears to have been an officer in charge of the military of his lord stationed at the capital. Nuniz speaks about a particular group of *nāyakas* who were never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns lest they should be beyond the reach of the king's hand.[119] But as observed in an earlier connection, Nuniz seems to be wrong in his statement, especially in view of the remarks of Paes who, describing a group of nobles in the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says: "These captains are the nobles of the kingdom; they are lords and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom".[120] Evidently Nuniz confuses between the *nāyakas* who were ruling their territories, and their military agents at the capital who were not allowed to go home since they served as the agents and hostages of their respective lords. There is no evidence to show that these nobles at the imperial court guarded the bastions of the palace as the *Pāḷaiyakkārars* under the Madura Nayaks did at Madura. But one may not be wrong in assuming that they did so for the provincial organisation in the Vijayanagar Empire was only a smaller replica of the imperial organisation.

The other officer whom the *nāyaka* kept at the imperial court was the *sthānāpati* or civil agent who represented the interests of his master at the capital. Nuniz gives an account of that officer in the following terms: "The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga as well those who are at Court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the king is doing; and they manage so that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know, and day and night they are always in the palace".[121] According to

119. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

the *Rāyavācakamu*, Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madura had an agent, *sthānāpati*, at Vijayanagar and it was he that wrote the *Rāyavācakamu* giving an account of the reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[122] From the chronicle of Nuniz it appears that the provincial governors who held some office at the imperial court and hence had to remain at the capital had also their "secretaries" at the palace of the king to represent the interests of their masters.

In some important respects the *nāyaṅkara* system in the Vijayanagar days reminds us of the feudal organisation in medieval Europe. But the analogy is limited to a few aspects only, for in *nāyaṅkara* system the feudal principle had not developed to the extent it had done in Europe.

Feudalism may be described "as a complete organization of society through the medium of land tenure, in which from the king down to the lowest landowner, all are bound together by the obligation of service and defence; the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord; the defence and service being based on and regulated by the nature and extent of the land held by the one or the other. In those states which have reached the territorial stage of development, the rights of defence and service are supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges or defends his vassal; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord. In states in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth, the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration is regulated as a mere shadow of a name".[123] Thus feudalism had two aspects, one political and the other economic. According to the former the tenant ruled his territories, enjoyed certain powers, and in return was bound to serve the lord; in his turn the lord was expected to protect his vassal. The economic aspect of feudalism consisted in the fact that the vassal's position and power were closely related to the extent of land he held.

According to the *nāyaṅkara* system also we find that the king was the ultimate owner of the soil. Nuniz says: "All the land belongs to the King and from his hand the captains hold it..... they have no land of their own for the kingdom belongs entirely to the King".[124] The *nāyakas*, like the feudal tenants of medieval

122. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 110-11.
123. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, I, p. 288.
124. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

Europe, held the lands immediately or mediately of the king in return for a fixed annual financial contribution and the maintenance of a fixed military contingent. They too gave their lands to minor tenants on terms similar to those on which they held their lands from the king. This was analogous to the process of sub-infeudation in Europe.

But in certain other respects the Vijayanagar *nāyaṅkara* system differed from its European parallel. First in the manner in which it was brought into existence: European feudalism was the result of two sets of forces—the process of commendation where the individual small landowner, to ensure his own safety, commended himself to a lord, gave his lands to him and received them back as a fief in return for service on his part on the promise of protection by the lord, and the process of beneficium according to which the lord granted lands to the tenant in return for certain specific services to be rendered; but the *nāyaṅkara* system was the result of the deliberate policy of the kings in assigning territories to the *nāyakas* in return for military service and a fixed financial contribution.

Secondly the political element which was predominant in European feudalism was lacking in the *nāyaṅkara* system. The tenure of the Vijayanagar *nāyaka* who held his land of the king was more in the nature of a military fief and was known as the *amaram* tenure. Further the Vijayanagar kings were more ready to change their *nāyakas* with onerous responsibilities and duties than prepared to safeguard their interests. As Nuniz says, they were liable to be ruined and their property taken away if they did not meet their obligations at the proper time.[125]

Another point that deserves to be noted is the fact that while in medieval Europe the whole society was chained together by the link of land tenure, in the Vijayanagar days the *nāyaṅkara* system linked together only a section of the population. The gradual expansion of the principle of sub-infeudation did not reach such a high degree of perfection in Vijayanagar as it did in Europe. Further the feudal principle was not applied in India to all offices as it was done in Europe, where even justice became feudalised. In feudal Europe tenancy at will grew into tenancy for life

125. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

which in its turn extended into a heritage holding.[126] Though under the *nāyaṅkara* system also, the office became hereditary in due course it did not develop the characteristics of European feudalism. These considerations show that the Vijayanagar *nāyaṅkara* system fell far short of a completely feudal organisation.

It may not be out of place here to examine the merits and defects of the *nāyaṅkara* system. Large of tracts of land till then covered with thick forests and shrubs were occupied by the enterprising *nāyakas*, cities were founded, villages were formed and thus material advancement was spread in those regions. The new regions was peopled, irrigation facilities were afforded, lands were brought under plough and everything good in Hindu culture and civilization was fostered and encouraged by them. But such services as these rendered by the *nāyakas* should not blind us to certain defects in the system. About the *Pāḷaiyakkārars* of Madura, Caldwell observes: "It can hardly be said that the idea of governing the country by means of an order of rude, rapacious, feudal nobles, such as *poligars* generally were, turned out to be a happy one, for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to British authority in 1801, whenever they were not at war with the central authority, they were at war with one another, and it was rarely possible to collect tribute from them or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force which added greatly both to the unpopularity and expense of the collection".[127] But Stuart defends the *Pāḷaiyakkārar* system and says: "This remark would however apply with equal force to feudal institutions in Europe in the middle ages, and as these served their purpose in the age of the world in which they flourished, it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that protection from foreign foes and internal order and progress though frequently accompanied by oppression and misrule was secured by this means to an extent to which it would otherwise have been impossible".[128] Yet his Euorpean feudal analogy cannot be pressed too far, as this system was not complete feudalism, and his arguments sound like special pleading. There were certain defects in the system which cannot be overlooked. The comparative independence they enjoyed within their territories gave them opportunities for engaging themselves

126. Medley, *English Constitutional History*, p. 28.
127. *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 58.
128. *Tinnevelly Manual*, p. 42.

in local wars and mutual feuds. At times they even defied the central authority when it became weak under inefficient kings. Further, the chief *nāyakas* who distributed their lands among their tenants in the same way as they themselves received them from the king exacted tributes and military services from them to their own advantage. Hence the *nāyakas* who held their land from a bigger *nāyaka* were not answerable to the king. Thus if the *nāyaka* directly answerable to the king chose to defy the central authority he had the following of a large number of dependents while the king himself was left helpless. This was a weak point in the European feudal organisation also. Heras while describing the *Pāḷaiyakkārar* organisation in Madura remarks: "Moreover, the fact that the Tamil and Telugu chiefs were indiscriminately appointed *Pāḷaiyakārans,* was supposed to foster the necessary union of establishing a lasting peace between both the subjects and their foreign rulers. This was by far the most important political event of the time, in spite of the fact that it fomented ambitions in these petty chiefs and weakened the royal authority of Madura, of which they were too independent from the very beginning. Had they been more systematically attached to, and dependent on, the central power, Madura might have been saved from many of the troubles caused by the *Pāḷaiyakārans*".[129] The same remarks can be made on the Vijayanagar *nāyaṅkara* organisation as well. The way in which the *nāyakas* conducted themselves towards the central government on certain momentous occasions in the history of Vijayanagar, like disputed successions or foreign invasions, brings into relief the weakness of the organisation. The stability of the central government could have been ensured if greater hold had been exercised over the semi-independent *nāyakas*. But the partial *nāyaṅkara* basis of the administration was a necessity of the times, and it was only for want of better scheme of governmental organisation that this system was adopted. In spite of the weakness of the system it served its purpose fairly well.

3. *Subordinate Allies*: The subordinate allies were the conquered rulers of older states. In some outlying parts of the Empire the members of a few dynasties were allowed to rule their small principalities on payment of annual tribute to the Vijayanagar ruler. They enjoyed perfect internal autonomy without fear of

129. *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 134.

intervention by the imperial authority so long as they paid their annual contributions in men and money to their suzerain. Curiously there were many such small semi-independent principalities in the Karnāṭaka country. As said earlier the range of hills that separated their territories from the eastern parts must have given rise to difficulties for the Vijayanagar kings in subjugating them, and keeping them under strict control. Further the imperial rulers had to recognise their existence because they could serve them better as buffers than as feudatories, and perhaps the people in the locality would like to obey their hereditary rulers rather than the new conquerors. It appears that these subordinate allies maintained their agents at the imperial court. Nuniz mentions a few of such rulers. As noted earlier they were the kings of Bengapor, Gasopa, Bacanor, Calecu and Batacala.[130] Among the others were the kings of Honawar, who owed allegiance at times to Vijayanagar and at times to Bijāpūr and not infrequently to the Portuguese also, of Uḷḷal who very often waged war with the Portuguese but at times paid tribute to them, and of Gangolly who was also subject to Vijayanagar.[131]

Section IV

Control of Provincial Organisations

Though the provinces of the Empire were given considerable internal autonomy, in the later Vijayanagar period the independence of the *nāyakas* was sought to be checked by the appointment of "Special Commissioners" who were entrusted with the task of keeping them under control. These "Special Commissioners" were generally men of exceptional ability and brilliant parts, and were as far as possible chosen from among the members of the royal family. After the administration of the southern districts of the Vijayanagar Empire had been satisfactorily ensured during the reign of Acyutadēva Rāya by the foundation of the Madura Nayakship under the able Viśvanātha Nāyaka we see in the same locality an officer who styled himself a *Rājādhirāja* and a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.[132] Rāma Rāja Viṭṭhala was originally sent to lead an expedition into the Travancore frontier and to put an end to trou-

130. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

131. See Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-90 for a list of such subordinate principalities.

132. 6 of 1906.

bles on the fishery coast which Viśvanātha Nāyaka was not able to check perhaps because of his preoccupation with organising the administration of the territories assigned to him for his *nāyakship*. After successfully completing his expedition he was probably made a "Special Commissioner" and was assigned all South India for his sphere. His overlordship appears to have been accepted even by Bhūtalavīra, who in Kollam 722 (A.D. 1546-47) provided for special offerings to be made to the Viṣṇu shrine at Sucīndram on the birthday of Viṭṭhalēśvara Mahārāja.[133] He was a great check on the rapacity of the feudatories like the ruler of Travancore, and he enforced the imperial sway over the whole of South India. But the exact relation between Viśvanātha Nāyaka and Rāma Rāja Viṭṭhala is hard to explain. In a few inscriptions Viśvanātha accepts that he is an agent of Viṭṭhala. According to an inscription, Viśvanātha makes a grant for the merit of Viṭṭhaladēva.[134] It is perhaps on the strength of these inscriptions that S. K. Aiyangar concludes: "During this period the viceroy of Madura Viśvanātha and his son Kṛṣṇappa had to be subordinate to this special officer."[135] But Heras questions this conclusion and thinks that the aim of Viṭṭhala's appointment having been different "there was no need of subordination to each other" (*sic*) and adds that "each could fulfil his aims independently. Nevertheless Viśvanātha helped Viṭṭhala in his expedition against Travancore."[136] He seeks to clarify their constitutional relations by a parallel and remarks: "The relations between Viṭṭhala and Viśvanātha may be compared to those between the Agent of the Governor-General and the Rāja of one of the native tributary States in India now-a-days."[137] But the contention of Heras does not appear to be sound, nor is his analogy appropriate. Viśvanātha definitely states that he was the agent of Viṭṭhala and acknowledges his superior commission. The Rāja of an Indian tributary State did not accept his subordination to the Governor-General's Agent (Resident) but only to the Paramount authority. The function of the Agent was very much limited, and he was only a channel of communication. He had no right to govern the State

133. 64 of 1896; *M.E.R.*, 1899-1900, *Rep.* para 79:

134. 599 of 1916; 721 of 1915, etc.

135. R. Satyanathier, *The Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 14.

136. *Aravidu Dynasty*, I. p. 155.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 155. The States have now been integrated in the Indian Union.

in which he was the Agent of the Government. But Viṭṭhala's powers seem to have been very wide. He imposed his authority on the feudatories, made his own grants,[138] decided disputes,[139] and acted as an independent ruler for all practical purposes, which the Agent of the Governor-General in the Indian State could not do. Thus our evidence goes to show that he was a 'Superior Commissioner' and charged with the duty of exercising a supervisory control over the *Nāyakas* in the south.

On the accession of Tirumala to the Vijayanagar throne after the death of Sadāśiva, the Empire was torn asunder by internal dissensions and the rebellions of the feudal vassals, and hence the Emperor divided his vast Empire into three divisions on a more or less linguistic basis and over each of them he appointed one of his sons as Viceroy. Thus Śrī Raṅga Rāya was the Viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital at Penugoṇḍa.[140] Rāma was ruling over the western parts of the Empire with Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam as his capital,[141] while the last prince Veṅkaṭa was the Viceroy of the Tuṇḍīra (Jiñji), Cōḷa (Tanjore) and Pāṇḍya (Madura) countries with his capital at Candragiri.[142] The *Vasucaritramu* definitely states that he "was governing as Viceroy the kingdom of Candragiri having under his authority many feudatory princes."[143] The constitutional position of the Viceroy in relation to the already existing *Nāyakas* is shown clearly by this statement in the work.[144] It would appear that the Viceroy over the Tamil district was a 'Special Commissioner' exercising some sort of a supervisory control over the *Nāyakas* of Jiñji, Tanjore and Madura. It is reasonable to assume here that the position of Viṭṭhaladēva Mahārāja must have been analogous to that of the Candragiri Viceroy during the time of Tirumala. The Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam and Penugoṇḍa Viceroys must have likewise held the 'Special Commissionerships' and kept under check the feudatories in their respective jurisdiction.

138. 273 of 1901.
139. 140 of 1895; *S.I.I.*, V. No. 704.
140. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 302 and 217.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
144. Richards in the *Salem Gazetteer* states that "the empire about this time was divided into six viceroyalties; (1) Andhra, (2) Karnata, (3) Madura, (4) Chandragiri, (5) Jiñji and (6) Tanjore." Here the three viceroyalties of Madura, Tanjore and Jiñji have been treated as distinct from the Tamil viceroyalty with Candragiri as its capital. This is evidently a mistake.

Chapter VII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Section I

The Sabhā

In India the one political institution that has survived revolutions, dynastic changes, military ravages and alien influences is local government. The village institutions retained their vitality till almost the commencement of British rule in India. About the services rendered by these village republics Elphinstone observes: "Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one. They prevent the bad effects of negligence and weakness and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity. Again, these communities contain in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all other government were withdrawn. In the stability and continuity of Indian village life and organisation is to be sought the secret of the good things achieved by India in the past."[1]

An important feature of the administration of local areas in ancient India was the active functioning of what may be called local assemblies which carried on the administration of the local areas. Two types of such rural organisation can be distinguished.

1. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, p. 73. In one of his letters Sir Charles Metcalfe observes, "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down. Revolution succeeds revolution.... (But) the union of village communities—each one forming a separate state by itself—has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all revolutions and changes which they have suffered and it is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence". (John William Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Lord Charles Metcalfe*, II, pp. 191-92).

(1) The first was the village *sabhā* with its counterpart the *ūr*. (2) The second was the *nāḍu*, the assembly of a larger rural division.[1a] Besides these, there were associations of a corporate character which, though not completely political bodies, still discharged some important political and administrative functions. Among them were the professional guilds and mercantile corporations and the temple which, besides being the house of god, was also an important centre of administrative, social and economic life in the local areas.

The origin of the village *sabhā* is shrouded in mystery. But it may be assumed that the term *sabhai* is the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit word *sabhā* which means an assembly, and this term was used to denote an assembly even in the Vedic period. But it appears that only assemblies of the *brahmadēya* villages i.e., villages granted to Brahmans were called *sabhais*. Side by side with the assembly of the *brahmadēya* villages was the assembly of the *ūr*, and it was called the *ūr*. There seems to have been a good deal of difference between a *sabhai* and an *ūr*. While one was purely a Brahman concern and obtained only in *brahmadēya* villages, the other was an assembly of persons in a non-*brahmadēya* village or a village in which the proprietors of the soil were not exclusively Brahmans. Though we find some reference to the *ūr* in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period yet the knowledge we have of its constitution and working is very limited. But about the organisation and functions of the *sabhā* in the *brahmadēya* villages we have more information. However, the inscriptions that describe in detail the working of these *sabhās* belong to the Cōḷa period and are anterior to the Vijayanagar days. But inasmuch as we get references to the *sabhās* as discharging functions almost as in the Cōḷa days, it may be assumed that in the Vijayanagar period also the *sabhās* continued to work on the old lines and discharged their old functions regularly.

In some places the body of the *mahāsabhā* or *sabhā* was called the *mahājana*. The assembly of Agaramputtūr *alias*

1a. Maine's description of the English Township "as an organised self-acting group of Teutonic families exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its mark, cultivating its domain on a common system and sustaining itself by the produce" may be taken to be equally true of the village community in South India.

Mādhavacaturvēdimaṅgalam was called the *mahājana*. Every *caturvēdimaṅgalam* (*brahmadēya* village) consisted of a central village to which were attached a large number of small ones. Each such village was divided into a number of wards. Each *caturvēdimaṅgalam* had an assembly of a certain number of members. A high standard of qualification was expected of them. They were expected to have studied the four Vedas; some of them were required to have a good knowledge of the *ṣaḍaṅgas* as well; otherwise they were expected to have acquired a good knowledge of the conduct of sacrifices and performed them. They were also expected to have besides these cultural attainments a good physique to bear the strain of their work.[2]

Some idea of the strength of the village assemblies in the Vijayanagar days may be had from the inscriptions. A lithic record at Tiruvāṇḍārkōyil[3] records that Tribhuvanamahādēvi-caturvēdimaṅgalam had an assembly consisting of 4000 men.[4] These assemblies generally met in a temple hall, failing which they seem to have gathered at some other public place. According to an inscription at Virāccilai[5] a great assembly met in a flower garden (*nandavanam*).[6] The corporate character and the large size of these assemblies are indicated by the terms *ūrāga iśainda ūrōm* or *nāḍāga iśainda nāṭṭavarōm* and *kuṟaivara kūḍi, niṟaivara niṟaindu*, etc. Though these assemblies seem to have been large as the one at Tribhuvanamahādēvi-caturvēdimaṅgalam mentioned above, it is reasonable to assume that their deliberations were conducted only by some among them, who were the leading citizens of the locality. Some of the assemblies were at times called *mahāsabhās*. Thus Kāvēripākkam[7] is said to have had a *mahāsabhā* in A.D. 1459-60.[8]

The village assemblies possessed the right of acquiring or disposing of lands or other kinds of property in the name and on behalf of the village. Thus the assembly of Ukkal *alias* Vikramā-

2. See K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 318 ff.
3. In Pondicherry State.
4. 217 of 1917; *Rep.*, 1918, para 67.
5. In Tiruchirapalli District.
6. *I.P.S.*, 705.
7. In North Arcot District.
8. 392 of 1905.

bharaṇacaturvēdimaṅgalam sold the village of Araśāṇipālai for six hundred *kāśus* to a person of Śēṟṟūr in Teṉkaṟai Uyyakoṇḍān-vaḷanāḍu, a subdivision of Cōḷamaṇḍalam;[9] the same assembly a few years later sold the village of Iṭṭigaipaṭṭu for 400 *paṇams* to some people.[10] According to a record at Āvaḍaiyārkōyil[11] the assembly of the village of Tirupperunduṟai made a gift of two pieces of land as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the temple of Śōḷapāṇḍya Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉār in the same village.[12]

It is hard to explain the right of these village assemblies to sell or donate lands in the villages under their jurisdiction unless we associate the *sabhā* and its inherent proprietory right over lands under its jurisdiction with the question of land tenures. The *sabhā* acting as the representative body of the *brahmadēya* village was vested with the right of acting on behalf of the villagers. Further it was as a joint body that the assembly made the grants, and this right of acting as the joint body representing the villagers proceeded from the joint tenure under which the villagers held the land. In such villages the proprietors held the land jointly and could sell or make gifts of it only jointly and not individually. Here the terms *gaṇabhōgam* and *ēkabhōgam* deserve some examination. *Gaṇabhōgam* indicates that lands held under that system were jointly held by the people, and hence under a joint tenure. No single individual had any absolute ownership of the soil. But under the *ēkabhōgam* system, the lands seem to have been held by only one person, and hence he had absolute and unlimited right over the soil. In some other cases the village granted was divided into a number of *vṛttis*, each or a few of which would be granted to a particular individual. According to a copper-plate record of Harihara II, for instance, a grant of twenty-two villages was made by the king on *agrahāra* terms to a few Brahmans to be held by them jointly (*gaṇabhōgam*).[13] This would indicate that the villages were to be joint villages and hence any sale or gift of lands in the twenty-two villages was to be made only jointly by the donees. But an *ēkabhōgam* village was quite different, for the donee here was not bound to act jointly with

9. 389 of 1923.
10. 358 of 1923.
11. In Tanjore District.
12. 509 of 1925.
13. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 357, 1. 120.

others in the sale or gift of the property of which he was in full and unlimited possession. In Ś. 1451 Acyuta Rāya made a grant of the village of Kaḍalāḍi in the Paḍaivīḍu mahārājya to one Rāmacandra Dīkṣita as a *sarvamānya* to be enjoyed by him and his descendants on *ēkabhōgam* tenure, which implies the exclusive ownership of the property and the rights over it by a single person. When, however, a *sarvamānya* village held under such *ēkabhōgam* tenure was distributed among a number of persons, it simply meant that they were granted the right of enjoyment of the income from the village unless it was clearly stated by the donor that he was making a *sarvamānya* grant of the lands in question. In the absence of such a specific statement we have to understand that the donor reserved the right over the property to himself, but granted only the right of enjoyment to the persons in question. According to the inscription under reference, Rāmacandra Dīkṣita, the original donee of the *sarvamānya* grant, appears to have reserved to himself the right of ownership and granted only the right of enjoyment to the Brahmans of his sect.[14]

A few types of joint ownership may be distinguished: The first is a complete and unlimited ownership and hence implies the right of the whole community in the soil. In a village in which this system prevails the joint owners cultivate the lands in common and share the profits in proportion to the number of *vṛttis* each has in the village. Thus if a village is divided into 120 *vṛttis* among a few people, each *vṛttidār,* owning, say, from two to five *vṛttis,* contributes labour in proportion to the number of *vṛttis* he holds, and his share of the produce is also commensurate.

The second type is one in which a particular portion of the village is held in common by the villagers, apart from plots of land owned by them individually. Generally they cultivate their own lands in their own way independently of the others, but in the case of common lands in the village all the co-sharers pool their labour and enjoy the profits in common each having a share in proportion to the amount of land held by him.

Another type of village is one in which the community is the owner of all the lands in the village, but it does not cultivate the lands jointly or enjoy in common the fruits of the labour spent on

14. *E.I.,* XIV, Kaḍalāḍi Plates of Acyuta Rāya, text, v. 49 and p. 313.

them. The lands in the village are divided into three classes, good, middling and bad, and every individual member of the joint community is given a portion of each of these three classes; he is not to be in permanent possession of the allotted lands, but is required to part with them after a fixed time in return for other plots in each of these three classes. Thus there is a periodical redistribution of the lands held by the joint community among its members. This system is known as *karaiyīḍu* in the Tanjore District.[15]

Thus in the first case ownership rests with the joint community where the individual has no right over the property except as its member; in the second case the joint community has only a limited right over the village for it holds in common only a part of the village, and hence controls only a part of it, while the individual has proprietory right over certain lands in the village which he enjoys by his own right uninterfered by the joint community; and in the third case the joint community is the proprietor of the whole, but it distributes the lands among the co-sharers to be enjoyed by them until the next redistribution.

An important feature of the villages, in which part of the lands was held in common by the community, was that outsiders were not allowed to get any right or share in them by purchase or by grant. According to an inscription at Māṅgāḍu[16] the residents of the village made an agreement among themselves "that any owner of land (in the village of Māṅgāḍu) (desirous of) selling (his land) must sell it to a landowner within that village and not to any outsider, nor could he give even as dowry (*strīdhana*) lands in the village to an outsider".[17] An inscription in the Mālavaḷḷi taluk[18] registers an agreement among the people that if any among the shareholders (who were evidently Brahmans) mortgaged or sold his share to Śūdras, he must be put out of the Brahman community and such share should not belong to that place.[19] If outsiders wished to cultivate lands in a particular village certain disabilities were placed in their way. Thus, for instance, by order of Rāma Rāja Viṭṭhala, Rājayya Bācarasayya of Haḍināḍ and Cāmarasa Gauḍa made the following rule for the cultivation of rice lands in Hoṅga-

15. *Ind. Ant.*, III, pp. 65-69.
16. In Chingleput District.
17. 354 of 1908; *Rep.*, 1909, para 67.
18. In Mysore District.
19. *E.C.*, III, Ml. 121.

nūr: "If, in addition to the resident ryots, any important resident in the neighbourhood plough (there), he may do so in accordance with the *paṭṭe* granted by the *Māsanikara, Pārupatyagara, Gauḍa,* and *Sēnabōva*; not according to the same rule as the resident ryots. If any one setting at naught this order is not prevented at the time by the *Karaṇika* of the *Cāvaḍi* and the *Gauḍa* and *Sēnabōva,* they will incur the guilt of slaughtering cows, etc....."[20] Thus these villagers were very anxious to prevent outsiders from getting into their villages, even for purposes of cultivation.

Now to return to the village *sabhā*. It seems to have functioned in the *gaṇabhōga* or *samudāyam* villages where it acted in the name and on behalf of the village community as a whole. Thus it would appear that these *sabhās* had their origin in the communal character of the villages, and they exercised full authority over the sale and purchase of lands on behalf of the community. Then the question arises if the individual co-sharer in the village community had any right to sell or dispose of his share of the communal property independently of the *sabhā*. He does not seem to have had any right to deal with the property except as a co-sharer and hence through the *sabhā*. However, this applies only to a village the whole of which is held in common by the people and where the individual has no independent right of possession of any piece of land in the village. But in a village where only a part of it is held in common by the joint community and side by side with it the individual ryot, has some plots of land of which he is the sole proprietor, he can sell his private lands independently of the *sabhā*. Thus according to an inscription of A.D. 1370 at Paḷani,[21] one Periya Perumāḷ Nambi, a member of the *sabhā* of Kalaiyaṉputtūr, made a grant. Here it would appear that part of the lands in the said village of Kalaiyaṉputtūr, was held jointly by the village community while some other lands were held individually by the people, who as members of the joint community had also a place in the village *sabhā*. Hence it is that Periya Perumāḷ Nambi was able to make a grant without any reference to the *sabhā*; and it has to be inferred that he made the grant only from the property he held individually.

The next important function of the village *sabhā* was that of tax collection. The collection of taxes payable to the imperial gov-

20. *E.C.*, IV, Cn. 38.
21. In Madurai District; 609 of 1893; *S.I.I.*, V. No. 285.

ernment was at times entrusted to the village *sabhās* or the *ūravar*. Where the local bodies collected the taxes due to the imperial government, these local tax collecting agencies had to be informed by the authorities of any remissions in the taxes or new impositions if levied, and they made the necessary entries in their account books and carried out the order. Thus, for instance, when one Tirumēni Aḷagiyār *alias* Śeṇpakarāya Viśaiyālaiyadēva of Śūraikkuḍi set apart the amount of one hundred and fifty *vāḷāl vaḷi tiṟandāṉ kuḷiśaipaṉams* due annually as *paccai paṇam* from the temple for offerings to God at the service called after his name, the *nāṭṭavar* (district assembly) subsequently deducted this amount both from the tax-register and (village) accounts.[22] Then again an epigraph at Tirumakkōṭṭai[23] registers an order to the *Mahājanas* of Pālaiyūr *alias* Bhūpatirāyasamudram that the method of levying taxes in grain for the protection of the country must be revived instead of the then prevailing custom of collecting both in grain and money. It is evident that because the *Mahājanas* were the agents of the imperial government for the collection of the state revenues the order was communicated to them. If the landholders failed to pay taxes to the government the local assemblies which were the collecting agents could deprive them of their fields, sites and hereditary rights and grant them to some local temple or institution.[23a]

Besides being the agents of the government for the collection of state revenues, the rural assemblies had certain inherent rights for the levy of a few fresh taxes and the remission of some old ones. Thus according to an inscription at Tiruvaḍatturai[24] the assembly and *Tantrimār* or Karippōkku nāḍu made a gift of the taxes on land. The assembly of Śiruvayal decided to exclude *sarvamānya* lands belonging to a certain deity and to include others for purposes of taxation.[25] Again the people of Kūḷaikuḷattūr gave away the right of levying certain taxes to goldsmiths.[26] But the remissions made on the initiative of the local bodies concerned only the local cesses collected by the assembly for local purposes and had nothing to do with their contribution to the imperial exchequer; or if the taxes

22. *I.P.S.*, 699.
23. In Tanjore District; 259 of 1917.
23a. 192 of 1932-33.
24. In South Arcot District; 211 of 1928-29.
25. 178 of 1926.
26. 384 of 1914.

were imperial ones they had been farmed out to the local bodies. It would appear that if the local body which at times was the agent of the government for the collection of the State revenues, remitted the imperial revenues without the sanction of the government then it must have done so only at its own cost, for the government would not have been prepared to accept any amount less than that which they were obliged to take under the terms of the arrangement into which they had entered with the assembly.

But these local bodies had great influence over the revenue policy of the government. In places where these assemblies existed the government could not impose new taxes or remit old ones without their consent since they carefully guarded the interests of the community. Thus Abbarāja Tirumalarāja granted, for instance, the *mūlaviśa* of certain villages for the offerings to the God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha with the consent of the *Mahānāḍu* (general assembly).[27]

On a few occasions the *ūravar* acted as the lease holders of the lands of the rulers. Thus Vaṉṉiyaṉār Aḍaikkalaṅgāttār *alias* Nāḍumaditta Viśaiyālaiyadēva gave a piece of land which was a *kuḍiniṅgādēvadāṉam* to the *ūravar* of Tulaiyānilai and Paraḷi. They were required to pay in the dues of the *nāḍu*, but were exempted from the payment of certain taxes.[28]

The assemblies had some judicial powers. They could try certain cases and inflict punishment on the offenders. We have seen, for instance, in an earlier section how the *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāras* of Kuḷattūr, Ālambaḷam, Śaḍaiyaṉpaṭṭu and Muṭṭiyākuricci decided a case of dispute between two priests and the managers of the temple of Kāmēśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṉār at Āragaḷūr[29] about the privilege of worshipping the God all the thirty days in the month, and how that decision was implemented by the temple authorities concerned. They had also the right to confiscate the lands of guilty persons. The village assembly of Tirupperundurai,[30] for instance, gave as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* in Ś. 1308 (1386-7) to the local temple of Śōḷapāṇḍya Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉār, land which it had confiscated from a certain Āṇḍān Piḷḷai of Tiruppattūr on account of some fault (*kuṟai*) committed by him.[31]

27. 681 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.
28. *I.P.S.*, 720.
29. In Salem District; see *Ante*, pp. 126-27.
30. In Tanjore District.
31. 509 of 1925.

The village assemblies exercised some control over the temples as well. The assembly of Āṇaimēlagaram[32] confirmed the right of the temple at Mūvalūr over the lands that already belonged to it, the lands that had been gradually added on and the lands that once belonged to the God Kālakūttar whose temple had been destroyed by fire.[33] Sometimes it shared in common with the temple the right of controlling public places like the village tank. Thus an inscription at Nāṅgunēri[33a] records the grant by the temple authorities and the assemblies of Śīvaramaṅgai and a few other places of the right of fishing in the tank in return for clearing the silt of the tank every year.[34]

The village assembly enjoyed also the right of conferring honours on certain individuals for certain services rendered. The *ūravar* of the villages of Kūḍalūr and Kulamaṅgalam, for instance, made a grant of the title of *Kalangāda kaṇḍan kōn* with certain temple honours to a cowherd Poṉṉan Kōn Eḷumban by name for supplying kids to the temple during the festivals of Kōṇāṭṭu nācciyār.[35] At times the *Sabhā* determined the work of literary compositions by scholars and rewarded them with land, house sites etc. For instance, one Śrīnivāsa Yajvan was honoured in that way by a *sabhā*.[35a]

The village assemblies acted sometimes as guardians of public endowments and charities, and administered trusts, the expenses of which were to be met by the income from a particular landed property or money deposit placed in charge of these village assemblies. Thus according to an inscription at Paḷḷikoṇḍa[36] the assembly of Nadikampacaturvēdimaṅgalam made an agreement with a certain Vaṇakkan Poṉṉāli Nambi, a merchant of Mēṟpādi, who endowed as *dāṉapuṟam* 2,000 *kuḻi* of land in the village of Vaippūṟ for feeding daily a specific number of persons versed in the Vedas. According to another record at the same place the same assembly agreed to feed some ascetics daily in return for a grant of 400 *kuḻi* of tax free land made as *dāṉapuṟam* by a lady named Umaiyāḷ

32. In Tanjore District.
33. 21 of 1925.
33a. In the Tirunelveli District.
34. In Tirunelveli District; 262 of 1927-8.
35. *I.P.S.*, 692.
35a. 274 of 1955-'56; *Rep.*, p. 9.
36. In North Arcot District; 470 of 1925.

Ammaiyāḷ.[37] Similarly when once Rāśappa, the son of a merchant Ciṉṉappa, made a grant of a dry field of the sowing capacity of 10 *kōḷagas* for the service of God Kalledēva during the reign of Bukka II, the field was placed in charge of the *Mahājanas* of the village.[38]

The *nāḍu* was a larger political unit than a village. It had an assembly which also was called *nāḍu* and its members *nāṭṭavar*. The *nāḍu* enjoyed powers similar to those of the village assembly but its jurisdiction extended over a wider area. For instance, the *nāṭṭavar* of the Kāṉanāḍu alias Virudarājabhayaṅkara vaḷanāḍu sold a piece of land to Tirumēṉi Aḷagiyār *alias* Nayiṉār Viśaiyāḷaiyadēva of Śūraikkuḍi.[39] According to a record at Peṉṉāḍam[40] the *nāṭṭār* and *Tantrimār of Karippōkkunāḍu* made a *sarvamānya* gift of land. Similarly the *nāṭṭavar* of Karigayanāḍu made a grant of six *poṉs* which was the income from a particular village. Again the residents of Teṉkaraināḍu in Jayaśiṅgakulakālavaḷanāḍu made a gift of land to the temple of Tirukkōkaṉṉamuḍaiya Nāyaṉār.[41] Thus the *nāḍu* and the *sabhā* were semi autonomous bodies in the local areas managing local affairs, and with responsibility for running certain branches of administration in the local areas.

They had to get the sanction of the imperial officer in the locality before they could dispose of the lands of certain individuals. Thus at Śērmādevi[42] we find that in A.D. 1544 Rāmappa Nāyuḍu along with a few others and the learned men of Cēramahādēvi, Ēlāpuram and Narasāpuram met together and assigned the lands and house of a certain Yeruvadi Timmayya, an outcaste of the Brahman community, to the temple of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha.

But these local bodies do not seem to have been left uncontrolled by the government. According to an inscription at Tiruvāmāttūr[43] the *nāṭṭār* of the place gave an undertaking to the official committee of management (*rājakārya bhaṇḍāra*) that they would

37. 469 of 1925.
38. *M.A.R.*, 1924, para 51.
39. *I.P.S.*, 685.
40. In South Arcot District; 261 of 1928-29.
41. *I.P.S.*, 691.
42. In Tirunelvēli District; 718 of 1917.
43. In South Arcot District; 65 of 1922; *Rep.* 1922, para 54; see also 378 of 1921.

thenceforth allow certain privileges to the three classes of artisans, viz., blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters of the locality in accordance with the practice obtaining in a few other places, and that if ever they should violate their promise they would pay a fine of 12 *poṉs* and suffer the twelve *kuṟṟams,* 'disgraces', in consequence.[44]

But these bodies slowly but steadily decayed in the course of the Vijayanagar period. Venkoba Rao while commenting upon a particular inscription of A.D. 1382 remarks: "These village assemblies which were powerful local institutions during the Chōḷa period seem to have gradually died out after the decline of the Chōḷa empire. The few transactions noticed in the above inscriptions were probably among the very last transactions of the assemblies before their total disappearance."[45]

In another place while commenting upon an inscription of A.D. 1386 he observes: "The transaction recorded in the present

44. This system of local government in the Vijayanagar Empire reminds one of the Government of the cities of Gaul in the Roman Empire as seen from the following account of Fustel de Coulanges. 'Each city possessed its public property comprising buildings, land, capital fund, and contributions. It could receive donations and bequests. It directly administered all this property. It regulated land rights and lent out its money on interest. It got contributions for itself such as octrois, market dues, tolls on bridges and roads.

It has its own expenses on its buildings (fortifications), streets, its forum, its basilicas, its temples, its public baths and its theatre, its roads and its bridges. It established schools and appointed teachers, as it appointed its doctors—In short, the city and its....territory was constituted like a veritable state. We do not mean to say by this that it was independent. To think of it as a free community under the simple suzerainty of the empire would be exaggerated and inexact. It had to obey all the orders of the imperial government. It opened its portals to a pro-consul every time he wished to visit it, and we may go further and say that nearly all its acts were submitted to the governor of the province for his approbation. But what we should note here is first that the imperial government had no agent always present in the city, and secondly that the city had a complete organism and a life of its own. It possessed its directing senate, its corps of magistrates, its jurisdiction, its police, its treasury, its goods movable and immovable, its public fund, its schools, its clergy and its high priests. None of all these came to it from outside: magistrates, professors, priests, everyone was found within. Doubtless it was not a free state; it was at any rate a state. (*Histoire des Institutions Politiques,* Quatriéme Edition, Paris, 1914, pp. 244-6 translated from the French original by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, in his *The Cōḷas* (second edition), p. 515.

45. *M.E.R.*, 1923-24, para 40.

inscription is another late instance of the vestiges of power wielded by the village assembly."[46] K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer also thinks that these assemblies slowly lost their vitality in the Vijayanagar period. According to him, "Under the kings of the last Vijayanagar dynasty and in the dark days of what is generally called the memorable invasion of Malik Kafur as well as during the period of rule of the kings of the Bahmani line, the political and social institutions together with the official machinery of Southern India which were in existence from the earliest times had been shaken root and branch."[47] Saletore, however, believes that the village assemblies continued to function as local republics till a late period, and questions Venkoba Rao's conclusions.[48] He bases his view on the fact that the Vijayanagar Emperors respected the *pūrvamaryāda* of the people to a great extent. He says: "We believe that the Vijayanagara monarchs did not introduce measures by which the powers of the local bodies lapsed to the central authority. On the other hand we may be permitted to repeat, that as promoters of the *pūrvadamaryāde* (ancient constitutional usage) it was their endeavour to preserve the old order of things and to allow the ancient officers to continue under the new government, although.... they showed their discretion by placing over the local bodies officers of the central government."[49] But such respect for the *pūrvamaryāda* was confined only to certain customary rights which certain individuals or groups of persons enjoyed for a long time past. It does not appear to have had anything to do with the fostering of the village republics.

It is, however, difficult to explain how the local institutions declined in South India. Probably the most powerful factor must have been the growing consciousness among the people of the place and the right of the individual in society as opposed to that of the community. Sir Henry Maine observes: "if I had to state what for the moment is the greatest change which has come over the people of India and the change which has added most seriously to the difficulty of governing them, I should say it was the growth on all sides of the sense of individual legal right; of a right vested not in the total group but in the particular member of it aggrieved,

46. *M.E.R.*, 1925-26, para 35.
47. *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 313.
48. *Soc. and Pol. Life*, I, p. 342.
49. *Ibid.*

who has become conscious that he may call in the arm of the state to force his neighbours to obey the ascertained rule. The spread of this sense of individual right would be an unqualified advantage if it drew with it a corresponding improvement in moral judgment."[50] The growth of such a spirit among the people could not have been conducive to the continuous and successful working of the local administrative institutions. Though there is no evidence to show that the kings of Vijayanagar deliberately pursued a policy of cold indifference towards them, yet the nature of the government under them which was in many respects based partly on feudal and partly on military basis could not have been conducive to their active functioning. Further the evolution of the *āyagār* system and the direct appointment of officers responsible to the government for the administration of the local areas must have sapped the very foundations of local initiative and autonomy and stifled the free life of the village republics.

Section II

The Āyagār System

An important feature of the village organisation was the *Āyagār* system. According to it every village was a separate unit and its affairs were conducted by a body of twelve functionaries who were collectively known as the *Āyagārs*. Col. Wilks describes the functions of these *Āyagārs*: "Every Indian village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; the *gouḍ* or potail is the judge and magistrate; the *karṇam* or *shanbhog* is the registrar. The *taliary* or *sthulwār* and the *tōṭi* are generally the watchmen of the village and of the crops; the *neergaṇṭee* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; the *jotishee, joshee* or astrologer performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the 'lucky and unlucky' days and hours for all the operations of farming; the smith and carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun and sometimes woven in the family of the farmer, or

50. *Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 73.

purchased at the nearest market; the barber contributes to the cleanliness and assists in the toilet of the villagers; the goldsmith marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they like to bedeck their wives and daughters; and these twelve officers styled the Barabullowuttee or Ayangadi, as requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour either in allotments of land from the corporate stock or in fees consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village."[51] Almost every British Indian administrator in the early nineteenth century was struck by the vitality and usefulness of the *Āyagār* system.

These village functionaries were generally appointed by the government. An inscription at Rāvulaceruvu in the Anantapūr District registers the conferment of the *reḍḍirikam* right over Dharmāvaram in equal shares on two families during the regime of Samprati Tipparājayya over Pennamāgāṇi in Guṭṭi rājya. It also specifies several individuals as the holders of different offices in the village and the extent of land allotted to them.[52] A copper plate grant said to be of the time of Śrī Raṅga II states that the Yalahaṅka nāḍu Prabhu Immaḍi Kempe Gauḍa granted the right of reading the *pañcāṅga* or almanac in a few villages to one Avubaḷa Narasiṁha Bhaṭṭa, and provided that the fees attached to the office of reading the *pañcāṅga* in those villages were to be enjoyed by him and his descendants.[53] Once granted to them these *Āyagārs* had a hereditary right over their offices; and whenever disputes arose about the right to a paticular office, the government took great care to find out to whom it belonged by custom and long usage and decide such cases. Thus according to an inscription of A.D. 1565, when a few persons complained to the agent of Rāmadēva Mahārāya that the offices of *Sēnabōva* and *Jyōtiṣa*, which they had been enjoying since the days of their ancestors, had been brought under the *sist* and requested that they must be granted to them, he instituted an enquiry into the matter and declared: "The former residents affirming that the offices of *Sēnabōva, Jyōtiṣa, Purōhita* and others belonging to the Śānte-Bennūrśīme in the Uccange veṇṭhe were held by you—we therefore grant

51. *Hostorical Sketches of Mysore*, I, p. 73. See also Firminger, *Fifth Report*, Madras, p. 13, for a description of the working of the *Āyagār* system.
52. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 15 of 1925-26.
53. *M.A.R.*, 1916, para 105; the inscription, however, is dated A.D. 1631.

them to you, as a gift to Rāma, to be enjoyed by you, your sons, grandsons, and posterity in regular succession, and you may take possession of the dues and rights (specified) belonging thereto in the Śānte-Bennūr-śīme."[54]

The *Āyagārs* could sell or mortgage their offices.[55] They were granted tax free lands (*mānyams*) which they were to enjoy in perpetuity for their services. During the time of Vīra Śrī Raṅgarāyadēva Mahārāya, one Mahānāyakācārya Rāmappa, for instance, made a grant of certain lands in a few villages to one Nārāyaṇappa as *karaṇikamānya*. In addition to this the donee was also granted the right of collecting certain dues on all the lands, dry or wet, areca nut gardens, irrigation wells, etc., situated in all the villages of the *hobḷi* as remuneration for his service.[56]

These *Āyagārs* had onerous responsibilities within their locality. They were the guardians of the peace within their jurisdiction. No transfer of property could be effected or grant made without the knowledge of these village functionaries. According to a damaged record at Guṇḍāla in the Kurnool District, for instance, when Doḍḷa Veṅkaṭanāyaṇiṅgāru died, his son appointed an agent to supervise the Doḍḷa charities, viz., the *prākāra* wall, pavilions, flower gardens, ponds and others in the temple of Cannakēśavaperumāḷ at Guṇḍal in Dhōni śīme and gave him some land in Tāḍūru with the consent of the *Reḍḍi, Karaṇam* and the *Talāri* of the village.[57] Sales of land had to be made only with the knowledge of these officers and invariably the *Karaṇika* or the accountant was the writer of the sale deed, as he still continues to be in villages.

Section III

Professional Associations and Guilds

Side by side with these corporate bodies a few professional associations, craft guilds and mercantile corporations are found discharging similar duties. They had a definite constitutional status

54. E.C., VII, Ci. 62.
55. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 581.
56. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 105, para 92.
57. 138 of 1913.

in the government and enjoyed a share in the management of local administration. In the light of the available evidence about their powers it is reasonable to assume that they enjoyed some concurrent powers with the *sabhā* and the *nāḍu*, and in a majority of cases co-operated with them in the transaction of their business.

Thus during the time of Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyār the smaller assemblies of Tiruvaraṅgam, Tirupati, Tiruvāṇaikkāval and a few other places, the three kinds of *paḷḷis*, the four or six kinds of professionals of artisans (*rathakāras*) all met together for assigning duties to the *kaḷḷa vēlaikkārars* who sought refuge there, and for fixing their contribution to the temple for protecting them from dangers.[58] Then again in A.D. 1406 the trustees of the temples of Uttamatānīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṇār, the Kaikkōḷa Mudalis and the *ūravar* of Kīraṇūr made a grant of *śuvandiram* to a few goldsmiths of the village.[59] It is not, however, known if the temple trustees and the Kaikkōḷa Mudalis enjoyed the same rights over these grants as the village assembly which must have been a better knit and a more organised administrative body. But these communal bodies which were quasi-political seem to have, however, enjoyed the right of co-operating with the assembly in some matters.

Another body of persons that constituted a political group and at times co-operated with the local assemblies is what were known as the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* ninety-eight sects. Though they were essentially social groups with differences and frequent quarrels among themselves, yet in their relations with the government they acted as an organised constitutional body. Thus according to a record at Tiruvaigāvūr[60] the *Valaṅgai* ninety-eight sects and the *Iḍaṅgai* ninety-eight sects along with the assembled residents of Parāntakanāḍu met together and arrived at a decision regarding the amount under various items of taxation payable to the government (*rājagaram iṟai muṟaimai*) or to the temple. Similarly according to an unfinished and damaged record of A.D. 1429 at Vṛddhācalam referred to earlier, the *Valaṅgai* sects entered into an agreement among themselves that they would inflict corporal punishment on those who helped the tax-collectors of the king in the collection

58. *I.P.S.*, 689; also 368 of 1914, *Rep.*, 1915, para 42.

59. *I.P.S.*, 690.

60. In Tanjore District; 59 of 1914; see *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.

of taxes by coercive measures and who consented to write accounts.[61]

Side by side with these were a few communal associations. They were made up of some professional people engaged in some crafts and were recognised as a socio-political body. Their consent, either implied or explicit, was sought by the government of the day. They helped to a large extent the local rulers in the administration of the respective local areas. Thus Mudda Heggaḍe was administering the chief town of Kāp with the help of the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers.[62] The terms used to denote them are *gaṇa* and *paṇa*. *Gaṇa* "is an aggregate of *Kulas*".[63] *Paṇa* is however a sectarian division. An inscription of the seventeenth century refers to eighteen such *paṇas*. They are the *Vyāvahārikas, Pāñcālas* (five sects of smiths), *Kumbhālikas* (potters), *Tantuvāyins* (weavers), *Vastrabedakas* (cloth dyers?), *Tilaghāṭakas* (oil millers), *Kuraṇṭakas* (*Kuratakas*?-shoe-makers), *Vastrarakṣakas* (tailors), *Devāṅgas, Parikeliti* (*Parikelette vāru*?—keepers of pack bulls), *Go-rakṣakas* cowherds), *Kirātas* (hunters), *Rajakas* (washermen) and *Kṣaurakas* (barbers). These seem to have formed a recognised part of the local assemblies.[64] They appear to be the eighteen castes, *Padineṇ bhūmi śamayattār,* of the Kuṉṉāṇḍār kōyil inscription, referred to above. Saletore doubts if these were not merely "conventional divisions".[65] But the division of society according to

61. 92 of 1918; *Rep.*, 1918, para 68. The agricultural community in the country known as the Veḷḷāḷas formed themselves into a corporation called the *citramēḷi* (*mēḷi* in Tamil and *medi* in Telugu meaning ploughshare). Its members were known as *citramēḷi periyanāṭṭār* and the organisation itself was known as *citramēḷi periyanāḍu*. The observation made by me in my *South Indian Polity* that groups of villages occupied by them were so called probably requires slight revision. It appears that the *citramēḷi* organisation had control over the production and distribution of produce from land. For a full account of this organisation see *Q.J.M.S.*, XLV, pp. 29 ff; *J.I.H.*, XXV, pp. 174-76; author's *South Indian Polity*, p. 386; also *R. P. Sethu Pillai Commemoration Volume*, pp. 195-200; and *A.R.I.E.*, 1953-54, p. 6.

62. *E.I.*, XX, p. 90.

63. *Kulānām hi samūhas tu gaṇaḥ saṃprakīrtitaḥ* (Kātyāyana, *Vīra Mitrodaya*, p. 426) quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his *Economic Conditions in Ancient India*, p. 54.

64. *E.I.*, XX, pp. 90 *fn.* 2; *M.E.R.*, 1918, paras 84 and 85. See in this connection K. R. R. Sastry. *South Indian Guilds*, pp. 6-32.

65. *Soc. and Pol. Life*, II, p. 26, *fn.* An inscription from Sadras (Chingleput District) mentions merchants from the eighteen *Viṣayas* (103 of 1932-33)

professions need not be conventional. Such a division in South India goes back to the beginnings of its history.[66]

The *Āmuktamālyada* refers to the guilds of weavers, goldsmiths, weavers of silk cloth, *kōmaṭis*, *Vaijatis*, gunny bag makers, basket makers etc.[67] Besides, there was the guild of the manufacturers of salt (*Uppararu*).[68]

Some of the more important professional guilds or craft guilds may be mentioned here. The most important of them was the *Hañjamanedavāru* (community). It is difficult to say exactly who they were. "Some scholars derive the term from the foreign word *añjumān* while others have taken it to refer to the Jewish and early Christian merchants who had settled in the west coast." But such an identification is precluded by the occurrence of the expression *Añjuvaṇṇattār-teru* in an inscription at Kṛṣṇapaṭṇam[69] where there is no tradition of any Syrian settlement. The Tamil term *Añjuvaṇṇam* meaning the 'five artisan castes' can with greater probability be equated with this expression *Hañjamaṇa* of which it appears to be merely a modification. It seems to refer to the same community that is called *Pañcahānamvāru* or *pāñcālamvāru* in Telugu and *Pañcāḷattār* in the Tamil inscriptions. These artisan classes must have had a corporate existence in the early period as they were taxed collectively and made grants under the direction of the rulers in their corporate capacity. Another such community was the Vaiśyavāṇiya nagarattār who, according to a record at Daṇṇāyakankōṭṭai,[70] agreed to contribute a fixed amount for the benefit of the local temple on certain articles of merchandise such as female costumes, pepper, areca nuts, thread, salt, grains and horses.

66. It may be noted in this connection that the Tamil work *Peruntogai* mentions peoples from eighteen countries or regions (*viṣaya*) in a verse:

Śiṅgaḷāṅ Śōṇagaṅ Śāvakaṅ Śīṇan Tuḷukkuḍagam
Konganaṅ Kaṇṇaḍaṅ Kollan Teluṅgaṅ Kaliṅgam Vaṅgam
Gaṅga Magadam Kaḍāraṅ Gavuḍaṅ kadungucalam
tangum pugaḻttamiḻ śūḻpadi ṉēḻnilan tāmivaiyē (v. 2108).

It is not possible to say if there is any connection between them and the *padineṇ bhūmi śamayattār*.

67. Canto IV, v. 35.
68. *E.C.*, XI, Mk. 8, 9; IV, Yl. 2.
69. In the Nellore District.
70. In Coimbatore District; 442 of 1906.

The craft guild was a professional association, based on the caste system. Each group of workmen, following a particular profession and belonging to a community, formed a guild. Thus, heredity formed a notable part in it; an artisan's son was usually an artisan. But if a member of a community should change his profession and take to the profession of some other community then he became a member of the guild of the latter community. As Sir George Birdwood remarks, "the trade guilds of the great polytechnical sites of India are not, however, always exactly coincident with the sectarian or technical caste of a particular class of artisans. Sometimes the same trade is pursued by men of different castes, and its guild generally includes every member of the trade it represents without strict reference to caste."[71] Thus though caste was a great unifying factor in the formation of guilds the sameness of occupation of the members was of equal importance. It is possible that no one might carry on a trade in an urban area unless he was identified with the guild maintained by his fellow craftsmen. The objects of the organisation of the guilds were the securing and maintaining for their members equality of opportunity and a good basis of subsistence through the restriction or exclusion of competition.

Besides these there were a few mercantile corporations which were recognised to be quasi-political bodies within the Empire. In the same way as almost every village had an assembly, every town appears to have had a mercantile association or guild. Almost every town had generally a weekly fair (*śantai*) while that was not the mark of all villages.

About the existence of such guilds 'Abdur Razzāk says: "The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar."[72] Paes also says: "There are temples in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants."[73]

71. *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 138; see also Coomaraswamy, *The Indian Craftsman*, p. 67, and K. R. R. Sastry, *South Indian Guilds*, pp. 6-32.

72. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 107.

73. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

There were a number of such guilds. Two of them were known as the guilds of the *Nānādēśi* and *Paradēśi* merchants. They appear to have been functioning in important sea-port towns where extensive trade, both inland and foreign, was carried on. They worshipped a common God for their commercial prosperity. The *Nānādēśi* and *Paradēśi* merchants of Cadiravācakanpaṭṭinam, for instance, were worshippers of God Dēśikaviṭaṅkapperumāḷ who probably corresponded to Nagarēśvara of the Kannaḍa inscriptions.[74] We do not have much information about the organisation of the *Nānādēśis*. There appear to have been two sects among them whose "mother-home' was Aiśvaryapura[75] from which place they migrated to different parts of the country. The *Vīra Baṇajigas* constituted an important mercantile corporation in the Karnāṭaka districts, and it appears that it was from that name that the modern term *Banyan* has been derived.[76] Dr. Barnett says about them, "There was a vast organisation of associated traders which about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had spread a net work over the greater part of southern India and Ceylon, and perhaps even further, and which beginning with simple commerce and then developing an elaborate social and semi-military system strikingly recalls our East India Company. There were the *Vīra baṇajus* as they were called in Kanarese or *Vīra Vaḷañjigar* as they were styled in Tamil. The name signifies 'valiant merchants' and is therefore similar to our 'gentlemen adventurers' ... They claimed to have come originally from Ahichchattra, but their central body was at Ayyavoḷe, the modern Aihoḷe which was the seat of their Board of Directors consisting of a Council of 500 members."[77] It is equally possible that there were five hundred edicts or rules regulating the organisation and working of the guild.

Dr. Fleet thinks that "*Balañja* is another form of *baṇañja* or *baṇañju* the modern *baṇajiga* or *baṇijiga* which must be the original or a corruption of the Sanskrit *baṇija; beṇijika*, merchant, trader." *Baṇajiga* is a division of the Lingayats, and *Vīrabaṇajiga*,

74. See 173 of 1932-33; *Rep.*, p. 54.

75. *E.C.*, viii, Sa. 60; *ubhaya nānā dēśigale tavarmmaney ada Aivarūpa pura varādhīśvara*, (text).

76. Warmington, *Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 14.

77. *The Ancient Tamil Township and Village*, p. 42. (MS) quoted by Dr. B. A. Saletore in his *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. II, p. 98 *fn.*

or in old Canarese *Vīravaṇiga* means a strict *Baṇijiga*.[78] They took such titles as *Nakhara parivāra and Mummuridaṇḍa*.[79] The centres where their organisation flourished were Vijayanagar, Hastināvati, Dōrasamudra, Guṭṭi, Penugoṇḍa, Āḍavāni, Udayagiri, Candragiri, Muluvāy, Kāñcī, Paḍaivīḍu, Caturaṅgapaṭṭanam, Maṅgaḷūru, Honnāvūru, Candavūru, Āraga, Candraguṭṭi, Annigere, Huligere, Niḍugallu, Cimataṅgallu, Tariyakallu, Anevidda, Sari, Kalhera, Telakalambi (Terakanambi) and Śiṅgapaṭṭaṇa.[80]

About the Vaiśyavāṇiya Nagarattār we have very little information. They appear to have been a Tamilian organisation in some parts of the Empire.[81] The *Kaḍaikūṭṭu tāṇattār* appear to have likewise constituted a guild in certain places.

There were a few factors which helped the formation of such mercantile guilds. The first was trade in common articles. As said above 'Abdur Razzāk says that the tradesmen of each separate guild or craft had their shops close to one another and that the jewellers sold their rubies, pearls and diamonds openly in the bazaars[82]. Paes gives expression to the same practice.[83]

The guilds were known as *nagarams, nagarattārs* or *śeṭṭis* in the inscriptions. These mercantile corporations had certain common features which strike a student of medieval institutions. It was only a community of interest that brought into existence these guilds, and it was their common endeavour to promote their interests. They were local associations only and hence the constitution and working of a guild must have differed from place to place and from time to time. Every guild had a leader who exercised some control over the working of the organisation and acted as its accredited representative in its dealings with the government. He was known in the Karnāṭaka and Telugu districts as the *Paṭṭaṇasvāmi* or *śeṭṭi*. He was also probably the head of all the mercantile corporations in a given place.

Further adherence to the same religion was a great unifying factor in the organisation of these guilds, as in contemporary

78. *Int. Ant.*, V, p. 344 *fn.*
79. *E.C.*, V. Bl. 75.
80. *Ibid.*
81. 442 of 1906.
82. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 107.
83. Sewell. *op. cit.*, pp. 255-6.

Europe; and we see for instance that the *Vīra-Baṇajigas* in the Karnāṭaka districts of the Empire were Lingāyats. The merchants traced their descent from a common ancestor as from Kubēra or Vāsudēva which went a long way to maintain their bonds of close relationship and co-operation. But "the guilds were not like modern 'trusts', for in the first place, their membership was very broad, and in the second, they were associations of men, not of capital, and there was no division of profits, among the members." They existed primarily for the regulation and protection of trade which was carried on by their members individually, though, they as a corporate body did commercial transactions in common.

These guilds exercised much influence over the king and government. It was not unusual for them to make petition to the government requesting that a particular thing should be done; and it was done. Thus it is recorded that when the great *Vaḍḍebya-vahāri* chief of (both sects of) *Nānādēśis* made petition to Bukkaṇṇa Voḍeyār requesting him to make a particular thing it was done.[84] The government at times sought their approval in their taxation policy. According to an inscription at Hospet in the Bellary District Abbarāja Timmappa, the agent of Pradhāna Tirumalarāja, granted the *mūlaviśa* of a few villages for the offerings of God Tiruveṅgaḷanātha with the consent of the *śeṭṭi paṭṭaṇasvāmis* (presiding merchants) of the villages and the *mahānāḍu* (general assembly).[85] Similarly one Kampadēva Aṇṇa, an officer of Acyutadēva Rāya, is said to have made a gift of some duties on crops and of the fee on marriages with the consent of the *nānādēśi* merchants.[86] They also levied certain customs and taxes of a local character. They collected tolls on markets, for instance, and granted them to temples. According to an inscription of A.D. 1534 the local merchants collected at the market held every Sunday in the hamlet of Viśvēśvaradēvapura belonging to Lepākṣi and in the Ḥarunāḍu and Hōsūrunāḍu and a few other customs which they granted to a temple.[87] They at times got taxes remitted by the government.[88]

These guilds enjoyed the right to confer honours on some highly placed officials. For example the members of the *nakara-*

84. *E.C.*, V., Ak. 68.
85. 681 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.
86. 679 of 1922; *Rep.*, 1923, para 83.
87. 570 of 1912; see also No. 1 of Sewell's list.
88. *M.A.R.*, 1917, para 48.

parivāra and *mummuridaṇḍa* "together with their three hundred Billa dependants and with the collection of the Holeyas of Vijayanagar having placed the diamond *vaisaṇige* in the presence of the holy lotus feet of the God Virūpākṣa, and sitting down, having agreed among themselves, conferred the mayoralty of the earth (*Pṛthvīśeṭṭitana*) on Muddayya Daṇṇāyaka, who was the officer for superintendence of the customs of our fifty-six countries."[89]

The guilds enjoyed the right to make regulations even of a social and religious character for their members. According to an inscription in the Tiptūr taluk,[90] for instance, a number of Śeṭṭis from Bāgūr made regulations in A.D. 1449(?) regarding women who lapsed from marriage. But unfortunately the inscription is incomplete and we are not able to make anything out of this interesting fragment.

Section IV

The Temple

Another institution that played an important part in local administration was the temple. Besides being the centre of religious life and activity, the medieval temple had certain economic and political functions. It was a landlord and an employer. The temple authorities were at times judges in a few cases. The temple treasury was a bank which lent money to the local people when they were in need. The temples were promoters of rural industries and handicrafts. In all these directions the medieval South Indian temple contributed much to the social good of the people.

The temples were maintained by both royal benefaction and public patronage. The kings constructed temples or made additions to them and endowed lands for their maintenance; such lands were called *devadāna* and at times *devadāya* lands. Royal patronage took the form of either grant of lands as a *sarvamānya* to be enjoyed by the temples in perpetuity or gift of specified taxes payable to the government by the people of the locality, which the temple authorities were permitted to collect for the support of their temples. Thus under the orders of Kampaṇa his minister Viṭṭappar

89. *E.C.*, V. Bl. 75.
90. In Tumkūr District; *E.C.*, XII, Tp. 86.

made a grant of Māḍambākkam to the temple of Sērvai Āḷuḍaiya Nāyaṉār. The inscription states: "This village, the whole village, which is the sacred holding of this God, limited by its four boundaries, including the village waste, wet lands, and garden lands with all its limitations of communal obligations, fees on cotton looms, obligations for maintaining oil mills, etc., fees for maintaining village servants and other similar obligations new or old, which may hereafter become due from each tenant, we have given for worship and repairs as *sarvamānya* grant to the temple in order that it may last till the Sun and Moon exist."[91] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya remitted 10,000 *varāhas* being the income from the *jōḍi, araśupēṟu* and *śūlavari* in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam.[92] The temples themselves collected these taxes. Here as in the case of the village assemblies, a distinction has to be drawn between the taxes levied and collected by the temple authorities independently of the central government and the taxes and other income collected by them with the sanction of or under instructions from the government. In the former case the taxes collected were in the nature of customary dues payable to the landlord by the tenant, while in the latter case the right of collecting certain taxes and dues payable by the people to the government was made over to the temple for its benefit. Dēva Rāya II issued, for instance, a *nirūpa* or order to Śrīgirināṭha of Candragiri asking him to remit the *jōḍi* of 131 *poṉs* and 6¼ *paṇams* or 1316¼ *paṇams* at 10 *paṇams* per *poṉ* due to the Candragiri rājya from Tiruppukkuḻi in order that the amount might be utilised for the temple of Porĕrruperumāḷ of the place.[93] Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's remission of specified taxes in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam was also of this nature.[94]

Sometimes the temple authorities acted as protectors of the interests of the temple tenants, and it was through them that the temple tenants and other people in the locality represented their grievances to the government when the government officers pursued an oppressive policy. According to an inscription of the time of Dēva Rāya II at Tiruvorriyūr, the *Māhēśvaras* of the temple

91. 324 of 1911; *Rep.*, 1912, para 49.
92. 74 of 1903; 125 of 1904; 511 of 1905; 355 of 1907; 167 of 1925; 184 of 1925; 226 of 1925; 214 of 1926; etc.
93. *M.E.R.*, 1916, *Rep.*, para 60.
94. 74 of 1903.

complained to the king that the tenants, servants, and other residents of the village owned by the temple had been much distressed by the imposition of taxes such as *jōḍi, mugampārvai, aṅgaśālai, sambādam* and *viśēṣādāyam*, and also by the lease system introduced by government officers for adoption by the trustees. Thereupon it was ordered by the king that these taxes together with the *ariśikāṇam*, good bull, good cow, *veṭṭi* and *kaṭṭāyam* should thereafter be collected by the *Māhēśvaras* of the temple, and that the leased lands already paid for be redeemed by money received from the royal treasurer.[95]

The temple authorities, like the village assembly, had the right to sell temple lands and purchase new lands under certain circumstances. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1442 the temple priests (*sthānikas*) of the Kurundamale temple in the Mālūr taluk of the Kōlār District granted to one Timmaṇṇa a *dharma śāsana* or a deed of sale in connection with the construction of a virgin tank named Siddasamudra in Kurundamale *śīme* for fifty *honnu*.[96] An inscription at Tiruppanaṅgāḍu[97] records that the temple authorities of the place sold some of the temple lands in order to repair branches of the village tank because they had no funds, and because the lands under it remained uncultivated for a long time. Similarly the treasury of Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār purchased as *uḻavukāṇi* two pieces of land which belonged to the temple in Paḍaiparṟu *alias* Tēperumāḷnallūr and which remained uncultivated on account of its non-irrigable high level; the lands were reclaimed and brought under cultivation and were leased out for 200 *paṇams* per year by the temple.[98]

The temple authorities made regulations regarding the mortgage of temple lands. Thus a record at Cintāmani[99] registers an agreement between Kōnēṭi Ayyan, the agent of Ubhayavēdāntācārya Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātācārya, the great men of Madurāntakam, and the temple treasurers that the *devadāna* lands which had recently been released from mortgage during the regime of Kōnēṭi Ayyaṅgār, must not be mortgaged again under any circumstance.

95. 226 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1913 para 54.
96. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 259.
97. In North Arcot District; 251 of 1906.
98. 258 of 1919.
99. In South Arcot District; 408 of 1922.

In many cases the temple treasury served as a local bank, and helped the people when they were in distress; and when it was not able to realise the amount it had lent, it purchased the lands of the debtor to the extent necessary to recover the debt. According to an inscription at Śēvalūr[100] the authorities of the temple of Tirubhūmīśam Uḍaiya-Nāyaṇār had lent three hundred *śakkara paṇams* to the *ūravar* of Tēṇūru Vaḍapparṟu, who had taken the amount for the payment of *kāṇikkai*. But since they were not able to pay back the money borrowed, they sold some lands to the authorities of the temple. Similarly the temple treasury of Tiruvaraṅguḷam,[101] had given a loan to the residents of the villages of Pālaikkuḍi, Kalaṅguḍi and Kiḻinallūr, and the owners of *pāḍikāval* rights in the said villages, for clearing up certain dues which they were otherwise unable to pay when asked to do so by Svāmi Narasā Nāyakkar. Sometime later in A.D. 1520 the residents and the owners of *pāḍikāval* rights sold some land to the temple authorities for the money they had taken as loan from the temple treasury.[102]

The trustees of temples also acted as judges and decided cases. We have already examined, for instance, how the trustees of the temple of Tirukkaḻukkuṉramīśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṇār at Tirukkaḻukkuṉram in the Chingleput District decided a case of theft in the temple.[103]

The temples maintained hospitals for the convenience of the people. An inscription of A.D. 1493 at Śrīraṅgam refers to the existence of a hospital (*ārōgyaśālai*) in the temple at the place, and to the shrine of Dhanvantari, the divine physician.[104]

Another significant aspect of the activities of temples in the Vijayanagar days was the encouragement of small industries. About local communities in India, Sir George Birdwood remarks: "The village communities have been the stronghold of the traditionary arts of India, and where these arts have passed out of the villages into the wide world beyond, the caste system of the code of Manu has still been their best defence against the taint and degradation of the foreign fashions."[105] His remarks apply to

100. In Tiruchirapalli District; *I.P.S.*, 723.
101. In Tiruchirapalli District.
102. *I.P.S.*, 733.
103. 185 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V. No. 479; see *ante*, p. 132.
104. In Tiruchirapalli District; *E.I.*, XXIV, p. 90.
105. *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 137.

the temples as well, for they gave great encouragement to small industries. The authorities of the temple of Perunagar,[106] for instance, sold twenty grounds of land in the *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam* of the local temple which had been lying waste since the days of Śambuvarāya to some weavers for their settlement, the proceeds being utilised for repairs and ornaments. According to another record[107] they reduced some taxes due from the weavers of Perunagar as a concession for their resettlement in their original possssions, which they had left without paying their dues. An inscription at Manampāḍi registers the lease deed (*aḍai ōlai*) given to the weavers to settle in a street on the temple land of Vānasundara Nāyaṇar on specified conditions regarding taxes due from them to the temple.[108]

A right which the temples enjoyed was that of conferring honours on men. When one Acyutappa Nāyaniṅgāru made a gift of fourteen villages, remitted the taxes *jōḍi, virūda, karaṇika* and a few others on twenty-eight other villages in favour of the temple of Ādivarāha Perumāḷ at Śrīmuṣṇam,[109] set up the images of Maṇavāḷa, Śūḍikoḍutta Nācciyār and other Āḻvārs in the temple, reclaimed several lands of the temple at his own expense, cleared forests for fields, dug irrigation canals, constructed tanks and planted groves and made many presents of jewels to the God and provided twelve musicians and 360 servants for service in the temple, the members of the *Śrībhaṇḍāra* of the temple gave him the office of *nirvāha* and *samprati,* permitting him to put a seal along with the others in the store room of the temple, to own the *talārika* of the town of Śrīmuṣṇam and the villages belonging to it, and to be the protector of the images of the Gods in the sacred *bhaṇḍāra.*

Similarly by order of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his subordinate officer Narasiṁha Rāya Mahārāya, the *tānattār,* or managers of the temple at Tirupati granted a house and certain honours to Vyāsarāya Tīrtha Śrīpāda Voḍeyār.[110] The Śrīmuṣṇam inscription indicates that the temple had also some police functions which it could transfer to others, for such *pāḍikāval* rights were coveted by the local institutions and private citizens alike.

106. In Chingleput District; 368 of 1923.
107. In Chingleput District; 370 of 1923.
108. 381 of 1923.
109. In South Arcot District; 270 of 1916; *Rep.,* para 73.
110. *M.A.R.,* 1921, para 87.

SECTION V

Local Compacts

During periods of Vijayanagar history when the central government was not strong enough to put down centrifugal tendencies, the influential people of a locality made compacts among themselves to strengthen their position and to prevent any encroachment on their rights and privileges by outsiders. This activity on the part of the people for the preservation of their rights had some desirable aspects too. For though it was a clear proof of the decay of the central government, still it brought together for a common purpose different classes of people who had been on unfriendly terms since very early times, and now agreed to give up their enmity and live in peace. For instance, in A.D. 1419-20 during the time of Vīra Rāyaṇṇa Uḍaiyār, son of Bhūpati Uḍaiyār, a compact was signed between Naraśiṅga dēva Uḍaiyār of Pērāmbūr and his followers on the one hand and the residents of Kiḷaikuṟicci on the other. The terms of the agreement were: "Whereas there existed great enmity between us from the time of Śemar Naraśiṅgadēva up to the time of Aḍaikkalam kātta Naraśiṅgadēva, hundreds of men on both sides have been killed and imprisoned; in the time of the last mentioned chief we met together and settled that henceforward we ought not to act contrary to the interests of each other on account of this long existing enmity." They even agreed to look upon the enemy of anyone of the above villages as their common enemy. It was declared that those who acted otherwise would sin against the God of Nāṅgupaṭṭi. The compact was arrived at before the residents of Teṉmalai, Kīranūr, Puduvayal and Muduśoṟkuḍi.[111] In the same period we see such mutual agreements being signed by influential people in the South Canara District. In Ś. 1412 (wrong) Kīlaka, one Dēvaraḍiya *alias* Kunda Heggaḍe and another Kinnikka Heggaḍe agreed in the presence of God Mahāliṅga at Yellūru to live amicably for ever without molesting each other's lands.[112] A few years later in Ś. 1421 (expired) Siddhārti, one Saṅkarādi Huṇḍa Heggaḍe and another Tirumala Araśa Madda Heggaḍe made a compact of mutual fidelity and agreed to render faithful service at all times against the enemies

111. 344 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 106; *I.P.S.*, 698.

112. 393 of 1927-28.

attacking Yēlūru and Kāpu.[113] There are many more similar inscriptions which record such agreements for mutual help and for giving up old animosities.[114] Such local arrangements like these seem to have been a result of the confusion in the politics at Vijayanagar in the last years of the reign of Virūpākṣa. During such periods no reference was made to the central authority.[115] Such local arrangements were very useful inasmuch as they ensured peace in the local areas and relieved the central government of a great deal of responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the different parts of the Empire.

Section VI

Minor Local Officers and Dignitaries

It remains for us to examine here the functions of a few local officers who served as links between the imperial government and local authorities.

The first among such officers that deserve notice is the *Pārupatyagār*. The term *Pārupatyagār* means an executive officer or a superintendent of works. He was generally a representative of the king or of a provincial governor in a particular locality and carried out some of the important executive functions of the government. He functioned as the chief tax collector in a particular locality; he was in charge of the repair and maintenance of forts; he acted as the trustee of the grants made by the king. As the king's representative in the local areas it was the *Pārupatyagār* to whom royal communications were generally sent. When, for instance, a local chieftain made a *sarvamānya* grant he communicated the order to one Pārupatya Periya Kēśava Nāyaka who was doubtless an officer in the locality in which the grant was made.[116]

An inscription dated A.D. 1423 refers to a *Pārupatyagār* who was placed in charge of a few grants of lands in a particular locality and specifies the allowance that was sanctioned to him.[117] Cikka Nañjayya, the *Pārupatyagār* of Terakanāmbi, was ordered in

113. 392 of 1927-28.
114. For a few others see 385, 386, 391, etc., of 1927-28.
115. *M.E.R.*, 1927-28, *Rep.*, para 57.
116. 52-A of *S.I.I.*, IV; No. 52-A in *S.I.I.*, V, p, 516:
117. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 2.

A.D. 1504 to pay out of certain export duties from a few villages a tax for expenses on the occasion of the car-festival in the temple.[118] In A.D. 1542 in the Seringapatam territory we hear of a *Pārupatyagār*, Kāmappa Nāyaka by name, collecting certain customs and taxes which did not exist earlier.[119] In A.D. 1508 an order was issued that whoever held the *pārupatya* of a particular village in the Bāgepalli taluk of the Kōlār District was to build a half fort.[120] The *Pārupatyagār* undertook to do works of public utility for the convenience of the people. Thus one Rāmayya who held the *pārupatya* of the Durggāgrahāra in the Yēlandūr Jāgir in A.D. 1532 caused the sacred pond to be built with stone after excavating the earth and making the necessary repairs.[121] During a great famine when the price of all grains had risen to seven *māna* per *haṇa* in the Cāmarājnagar taluk and men ate men, the *Pārupatyagār* Kempiṇa Lingana Oḍeyār Dēva had a well repaired with the help of Kāle Mallikārjuna.[122] He also formed new villages. The *Pārupatyagār* of the Bāgūr śīme, on a petition from Narasimmaiya of the customs, had a *pēṭhe* built, named it Kṛṣṇāpura and populated it.[123]

It appears he had much to do with the village officers. This is suggested by an incomplete record at Kottapalle[124] which appears to record some order of the *Pārupatyagār* (whose name is lost) of the Kundrupi śīme to Malika Ayyaji Voḍayaru, Paraśurāma Paṇḍitaru, the officer at Pērūru, the *Gauḍe, Sēnāpatya* and the farmers of the village.

Till about the time of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya the *Pārupatyagār* appears to have exercised some control over the adminstration of the temple. But about a particular temple in the Chamrajnagar taluk Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya ordered as follows: "All grants are to be taken care of by Allappa, the agent of the temple of the God. He will take possession of them, and, appointing such temple servants as he wishes, will continue the temple services from time to time; the *Pārupatyagār* has no authority to enquire into the affairs of

118. *E.C.*, IV, Gu. 5.
119. *Ibid.*, III, Sr. 6.
120. *Ibid.*, X, Bp. 85.
121. *Ibid.*, IV. Yl. 45.
122. In Mysore District; *Ibid.*, Cn., 108.
123. *E.C.*, XI, Hk. 112.
124. In Anantapur District; 358 of 1926.

the temple. Allappa will be the agent of the temple and no one else."[125] It is not known if this ruling of the Emperor affords only an instance of his general policy of separating the management of temple from the general administration, or it was only a particular case which required such a ruling. His views on this interesting question are expressed in his *Āmuktamālyada;* there he deprecates the employment of a collector of revenue for the management of charities given over to temples, Brahmans and the like, lest that should tempt him to make up the losses in his revenue collections from these sources; and he suggests that a special officer must be appointed to supervise the charities.[126] It is therefore reasonable to assume that this order of the king taking away from the *Pārupatyagār* the management of the temple and handing it over to another individual, obviously specially appointed for the purpose, was only an illustration of how he translated his theories into practice.

The *Adhikāri,* much in evidence in the Vijayanagar days, appears to have been a "Special Officer" appointed in some important cities and villages. It is difficult to say if all the important cities and villages in the Empire had each an *Adikāri,* for we have only a few stray references to this offer. But since there is an inscription of A.D. 1408 which registers some provision made by the *Adhikāri* and *jagattumunūru* (village assembly) of Niruvāra[127] for daily offerings to the deity, we may take it that many important villages also had each an *Adhikāri*; but his functions and importance appear to have varied from place to place and time to time.

As an officer of the government the *Adhikāri's* presence was necessary for the execution of documents. According to a copperplate grant a partition deed was executed in the presence of Mahāpradhāna Male (Mallaya) Daṇṇāyaka and Gōpaṇṇa, the *Adhikāri* of the village.[128] Grants made by individuals had to be confirmed by this important officer. It was not always that he did so himself, for at times he asked his subordinates to discharge this function perhaps owing to pressure of work. For instance, Dēva Vāru Īśvara Nāyaka, the Bētamaṅgala *Adhikāri,* and another officer, whose exact functions are not known, issued an order to one Naraśiṅga

125. *E.C.*, IV., Cn., 99.
126. *Canto* IV., v. 218.
127. In South Kanara District; 498 of 1928-29.
128. In South Kanara District; *M.E.R.*, Cp., 16 of 1928-29.

Rāja Voḍeyār to confirm the grant of lands by one Sōmeyadēva to Caṇḍēśvara which order was immediately carried out.[129] It appears, however, that this officer could not make grants himself without the consent and co-operation of certain groups and associations which had a semi-political character in those days. A copper-plate[130] discloses the interesting information that in A.D. 1556, one Tirumalaraśa *alias* Madda Heggaḍe, the chief of Kāp, made a grant of land in the village of Mailāra with the consent of the assembly (*nalinavāru*), communal and professional guilds (*gaṇa paṇa*) and subordinate officers (*sāmanta*). Thus in the areas where recognised communal associations existed the *Adhikāri's* power to act independently seems to have been limited. Yet he had onerous duties and was a high dignitary in the local areas.

Here mention may be made of the Governor of Vijayanagar of whom both Paes and Nuniz speak. Gauḍarāja, the brother of Sāḷuva Timma, was the Governor of the capital.[131] He seems to have been a person of some consequence and hence he was able to show round the palace and other buildings to Paes and his friends. He appears to have had certain military obligations to discharge, and hence when Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya led his expedition to Raicūr he followed the king with an army consisting of 30,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 10 elephants.[132]

Another officer or group of officers that co-operated with the assembly in its work was generally known as the *Tantrimār*. It is difficult to say who they were.[133] According to a record at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi[134] dated Ś. 1459, the temple authorities and the *Tantrimār* of the village made an agreement among themselves about the rehabilitation of a village by one Śittama Nāyaka. Here if the *Tantrimār* had anything to do with the temple administration or temple service, then it would be difficult to see why an agreement should be made between these two sets of people. But the term *tantrin* means

129. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 253.
130. From South Kanara District; *M.E.R.*, Cp. 8 of 1921-22.
131. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
133. In the modern day a class of temple priests are known as Tantris in Malabar. But the inscriptions which refer to the *Tantrimār* as acting with the village assembly in its work are largely to be found in the Tamil districts, and hence it is not possible that the Malabar *Tantris* could have been meant by the term *Tantrimār*.
134. In South Arcot District; 48 and 49 of 1916.

also a soldier in which case our *Tantrimār* may refer to certain classes of people from whom men for the military were recruited. In the Tirunelvēli District there are found a few Pāṇḍyan inscriptions which refer to a community of military classes (*Paḍaikkāṇvar*) whose leaders were known as *daṇḍanāyakam śeyvār*. As the government epigraphist says, "in some cases the big community of military classes (*perumbaḍaiyōm*) with their ten commands are mentioned and are stated to have belonged to the *tantra* or *mahā-tantra*."[135]

It is difficult to say if the *Tantrimār* of the Vijayanagar days had anything to do with these military groups. *Tantra* also means government in which case we may take the term *Tantrimār* to refer to the officers of the government in the local areas who controlled the working of the village assemblies and other local organisations. This interpretation of the word indicates fully the functions they discharged. It appears that the village assemblies could not by themselves do a particular thing, but had to get the sanction of the government for many of their acts. This put a check on the otherwise absolute independence of the local assemblies. Thus the *nāṭṭār* and the *Tantrimār* of Kaṟaippōkkunāḍu made a *sarvamānya* gift of land in Kāraiyūr to the temple of Tiruttūṅgāṉaimāḍam Uḍaiya Mahādēva.[136] The same *Tantrimār* along with the same assembly made another grant of a few taxes on lands in Teṉkaṟai Śiṟukūḍalūr for worship and repairs to the temple of Teṉkaṟattuṟai Nelvāy. Thus these *Tantrimār* appear to have been government officers in the local areas.

Another officer who was variously known as *Nāṭṭunāyagam śeyvār* or simply *Nāṭṭunāyakkar*, meaning superintendent of a *nāḍu*, was a person of some consequence. But though he is referred to in inscriptions as an important officer in the *nāḍu*, yet we do not know much about his exact functions nor even whether he was a royal officer in the *nāḍu* or simply an influential person in the locality vested with certain honorary powers by the government. According to a record of A.D. 1346 Harihara Oḍeyār and Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyār granted to Vaiyaṇṇan Kōmuppaṇ, the Superintendent over the Tēkal nāḍu, Mādaraiśānapaḷḷi belonging to the same *nāḍu* as a *kuḍaṅgai* exempt from taxes. He was allowed to grow

135. *M.E.R.*, 1917 *Rep.*, para 11 and 1918, *Rep.*, para 43; see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 238-39.

136. 261 of 1928-29.

any crop he pleased on all the dry and wet lands of the village excluding former gifts, and he was entitled to receive all the taxes (specified) in perpetuity.[137] There are a few more references to this important dignitary. A record of A.D. 1379 mentions that the *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Soṇṇaiya Nāyakkar's son Aṅkaya Nāyaka was the Superintendent over the Noṇḍaṅguḷi nāḍu.[138]

The *Gauḍike* and the *Sthalagauḍike* were two other offices in the local areas.[139] But it is difficult to understand the difference between the two offices unless we assume that the *Sthalagauḍa* was a higher officer and his functions extended over the whole of his *sthala,* while an ordinary *Gauḍa* was a smaller one and his functions were confined to the village over which he was appointed. Such offices as these seem to have been conferred on some people for services rendered by them to the government. According to an inscription of about A.D. 1533, the *Mahānāyakācārya* Harati Aimaṅgala Tippaḷa Nāyakācārya granted to Vadda Irāṇa Bōva through Bālana Gauḍa of Kaṇḍehaḷḷi, a hamlet of the Dharmapura *sammat,* a few presents and the *Sthalagauḍike* of the village for having expended 250 *gadyāṇas* and erected four high towers for the Kandehaḷḷi fort.[140] A few years later in A.D. 1547 the same person was given the *Sthalagauḍike* over the village of Sūgūr for having constructed four towers to the fort of the place at a cost of 200 *varāhas.*[141] Similarly in A.D. 1634 Kōlavanhaḷḷi Immaḍi Raṇa Baire Gauḍarāya gave the office of *Sthalagauḍike* to one Giḍa Gauḍa with the former *mānya, āya, svāmya, baṭu, bōṭu* and nine hamlets.[142] It appears that these *Gauḍas* could make grants for the merit of certain officers. Thus an inscription of A.D. 1537 records that Cokkaya Gauḍa of Uliyarahaḷḷi made a grant of land for the merit of *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Hebbare Nāyaka's son Bayicaya Nāyaka.[143] We also hear of the *Nāḍu gauḍa* whose functions, however, we are un-

137 *E.C.*, X, Mr. 39.

138. *Ibid.*, IX, Ht. 50; for a few other references see *ibid.*, X. Mb. 190; IX, An. 28; *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, para 93.

139. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the word *Gauḍa* is the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit term *Grāmādhya.* (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 398, *fn.* 27; *Ind. Ant.*, V., p. 344 *fn.*).

140. *E.C.*, XI, Hr. 36.

141. *Ibid.*, Hr. 39.

142. *Ibid.*, XII, Mi. 43.

143. *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, para 111.

able to make out.[144] It appears that these offices could be sold by their respective holders.[145]

Similarly we hear about *Sēnabōvas* of villages and *Sēnabōvas* of *nāḍus*. The *Mahāsāvanvādhipati* Cikka Kallaya Nāyaka and all the farmers of Kadagoḍi-sthala are said to have made a grant to the *Sēnabōva* of the Sani kingdom.[146] The *Nāḍ-sēnabōva* appears to have been in charge of the revenue register of the *nāḍu*. According to a record of A.D. 1589 one Vīraiya of Hiriyūr was the *Sēnabōva* or accountant of 185 villages.[147] The *Karaṇika* or *Sēnabōva* of a larger area seems to have been appointed by the king. We are led to infer this from the details contained in an inscription which records the bestowal of the office of accountant on an individual by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.[148]

The *Madhyastha*—mediator or arbitrator—was much in evidence in the Vijayanagar days. He appears to have been an influential person in the local areas, and when any sale of land was effected he fixed the price. It is possible that he was authorised to do so by the government. Thus when one Viṭṭappa sold his lands to one Suṅganṇa, the son of Narasivadēva of Bēlūr, for 30 *hons*, the price was fixed by arbitration.[149] Similarly when in A.D. 1406 one Jakkaṇṇa Heggaḍe of Honnahole and a few others sold some of their lands to one Nimbarasa the price of the lands was fixed by arbitrators.[150]

The *Mahānāḍprabhu* and the *Nāḍyajamān* are two other local dignitaries that attract our notice. It appears that what the *Paṭṭaṇaswāmi* was in the towns, the *Mahānāḍprabhu* was in the rural areas. The *Prabhu* of a *nāḍu* seems to have been at times the headman of some village. Thus one Śaṅkaṇṇa, the headman of the Pithamaṇe village, the first in the Kupatūr Twenty-six of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Malunāḍ was the *Prabhu* of the *nāḍ*.[151] These offices were generally granted by the king. In A.D. 1645 the *Prabhutvam* of Kollāla śīme, for instance, was conferred on Boggavasayya by

144. *M.A.R.*, 1925, No. 5.
145. *E.C.*, XI, Cd. 48.
146. *Ibid.*, IX, Ht. 147.
147. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 113.
148. *Ibid.*, 1920, para 87.
149. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 134.
150. *Ibid.*, VI, Sg. 26.
151. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 265.

king Śrī Raṅga Rāya.[152] From an inscription[153] it may be learnt how these headmen (*Yajamāns*) were remunerated. An inscription of A.D. 1527 records the grant of a field of the sowing capacity of half a *khaṇḍuga* to Bayirappa Nāyakkan by all the *nāḍ gauḍas* of Vijayapura in consideration of his holding the office of *Yajamān* (headmanship) of the *nāḍu*. But it is not known if these dignitaries received any other remuneration for their services.

In the Tamil inscriptions there appears an officer with the designation *Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān*. We are again at a loss to know the exact functions he discharged. He is mentioned in connection with the attesting of documents. This officer put his signature to agreements with the consent of the *ūravar* of the *Tiruvaḍaiyāttam* villages in two nāḍus.[154] When the king Bhūpati Uḍaiyār revived an old grant of certain sources of income made formerly by the *nāṭṭār* to the temple of Poṉṉambalanātha at Tiruveṉṉainallūr, and gave a deed to that effect, it was signed by three persons: (1) Tirumuṇaippāḍi-nāṭṭuvēḷān, (2) Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān of Magadaimaṇḍalam and (3) Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān of Iruṅgōḷappāḍināḍu.[155] The government epigraphist remarks here: "These people set their signatures to the deed probably in token of consent as the representatives of the *nāḍu* (district) people who had given the original deed to the temple trustees."[156]

But it appears that the rendering of the term *Periyanāṭṭuvēḷān* into the representative of the people of the *nāḍ* is rather strained. *Vēḷān* means an agriculturist, and hence this term does not indicate that he was in any way connected with the district people or the assembly. But the name appears to be the Tamil rendering of the term *Mahānāḍprabhu*. In fact no better translation can be suggested. Thus he also appears to have been a local dignitary of some consequence.[157] But it is not possible to say anything certain about the nature of the functions many of these local dignitaries discharged. The evidence at our disposal is still too scanty to be of any help to solve many of these questions.

152 *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 75
153 In Bangalore District; *M.A.R.*, 1925, No. 5.
154. *T.T.D.I.*, No. 201.
155. In South Arcot District; *M.E.R.*, 1922, *Rep.*, para 44.
156. *Ibid.*
157. One cannot be sure if he was the president of the *Citramēḷi* organisation.

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